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Izak Cornelius

The Many Faces of the Goddess

The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE



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The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE

Cornelius, Izak

Abstract: The goddesses of ancient Syro-Palestine have recently received detailed attention. This study attempts to make a contribution to the iconography of Anat, Astarte, Asherah and Qedeshet in the period 1500-1000 BCE. Because Anat and Astarte were closely related, and it is sometimes argued that Qedeshet was a mere epithet of the goddess Asherah, these goddesses need to be studied together. It is argued that it is possible to differentiate between these goddesses and that Qedeshet was an independent goddess with her own iconography. The main iconographic types (armed, seated, standing, equestrian, naked woman with objects) are discussed, attributes compared, items identified with a specific goddess, and an iconographic typology established. Like Astarte, Anat was depicted armed and Astarte is also shown on horseback. The woman holding objects is identified as Qedeshet. This book presents a detailed catalogue of items related to these goddesses, with photographs and comparative drawings. The catalogue has been updated for this second, slightly revised edition.

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by
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Vir Magna …

dk nʿm ʿnt nʿmh
km tsm ʿṯtrt tsmh
(*CAT* 1.14:III:41-42)

“Wie se sjarme is soos die sjarme van Anat,
Wie se skoonheid is soos die skoonheid van Astarte”

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 2004 edition of “The many faces” was sold out in 2007. I want to thank the editors of OBO for their willingness to publish a second edition. Some corrections and additions are included in the CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA on pages 209-216 (with an additional Bibliography of works cited). Plate **5.5** was replaced with a better quality photograph, and plate **4.4b** and figure **55** were added.

This research was undertaken with the financial assistance of the German *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation*, the South African *Human Sciences Research Council* (now *National Research Foundation*) and the University of Stellenbosch during a sabbatical in Heidelberg Germany (1996). Further financial support from the Humboldt Foundation, the University of Stellenbosch, and the University of Tübingen enabled me to complete the manuscript in Tübingen in 2002-2003. A word of thanks is expressed to my hosts in Heidelberg (Jan Assmann and Manfred Weippert) and Tübingen (Siegfried Mittmann and Herbert Niehr).

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Papers on the goddess Qedeshet were read at the Research Colloquium of the Institute of Egyptology in Heidelberg (1996) and at the

annual conference of the SA Society for Semitics (1997). Preliminary results were published in articles (Cornelius 1999 and 2000). A research report *Die visuele voorstelling van die Siro-Palestynse godinne Asjera, Anat, Astarte en Qedesjet in die Laat Brons en Vroeë Ystertyd periodes (circa 1500-1000 v.C.)* (1998) was submitted to the South African Centre for Scientific Development of the Human Sciences Research Council (now National Research Foundation). An *Oberseminar* (with Herbert Niehr) on the theme was presented at the University of Tübingen (January 2003) and papers read at the University of Mainz (H-J Stipp and W Zwickel, May 2003) and at the *AT Sozietät* of the University of Tübingen (W Gross, May 2003).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Aleppo = Aleppo Museum
ANE = Ancient Near East
Berlin = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
BM EA = British Museum Egyptian Antiquities, London
DeM = Deir el-Medina
EC = Egyptian Museum, Cairo
IAA = Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem
IA = Iron Age
IM = Israel Museum, Jerusalem
L = Museé du Louvre, Paris
LB = Late Bronze Age
MB = Middle Bronze Age
M = Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
OIC = Oriental Institute, Chicago
RJ = Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem
SM = Sammlung Michaélidis, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
T = Museo Egizio di Torino
UC = University College, London (Petrie Collection)
UM = University Museum, Philadelphia
VA = Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

Chronology (following Keel & Uehlinger 1998:17)

Late Bronze	LB I	1550-1400
	IIA	1400-1300
	IIB	1300-1150
Iron Age	IA	1250-1150
	IB	1150-1000

Pharaohs (following Redford 2001):

Amenhotep II	1454-1419
Tutmoses IV	1419-1410
Sethos I	1314-1304
Ramses II	1304-1237
Merenptah	1237-1226
Siptah	1215-1209
Ramses III	1198-1166

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 *When God was a woman*

The role of women and goddesses in the ancient past has been a focus of interest in recent years. Stone (1976) wrote *When god was a woman* and Gimbutas spoke of the *goddess culture* (1991).[1] Hackett (1989), Peggy Day (1992) and Budin (2002) reacted against a sexist model, especially in response to previous studies on the Syro-Palestinian goddesses. Koch (1993:390) argued that the female deities from the Orient influenced Egyptian religion, where goddesses had not previously featured that strongly. Patrick Miller (2000:29ff.) dealt with the "feminine dimension" in Hebrew religion.

The history of the new interest in the "Hebrew goddess" and especially Asherah and her female colleagues will not be repeated here. In 1967 Patai, in a book with the provocative title *The Hebrew Godde*ss (new edition 1990), made the point that throughout the history of the ancient Hebrews there was a *female* form of the divinity. This view has been given impetus by finds such as the much-discussed texts from Kuntillet Ajrud and Khirbet el-Qôm near Hebron.[2] They have brought about an important corrective to the religion of Israel and Judah as advocated by later biblical writers; the "censorship" of these later writers has indeed been broken (van der Toorn 1992:80ff.).[3]

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[1] For more balanced approaches cf. Goodison & Morris (1998) and Bolger & Serwint (2002). Cf. also the website *Diotima: Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World* at www.stoa.org/diotima/about.shtml and the new journal *NIN*. *Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* of the *Women's Association of ANE Studies* (*WANE*). The 33st *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* was devoted to woman in the ANE (Durand 1987) and the 47th on *Sex and Gender in the ANE* (Parpola & Whiting 2002: not yet available).

[2] As Bird (2002-2003) wrote: it "fanned into flames" the debate which was "sparked" by the Ugaritic texts, but the fact that "A/asherah" is mentioned with YHWH at a site inside Judah played an immense role. Cf. the recent discussion in Hadley (2000:Chap. 4-5). Whether the texts mention the goddess or the object (i.e. tree) is still disputed; Emerton (1999) opted for the *object* (cf. Silver 2000) and Hadley argued that the goddess was starting to lose her identity. On the whole problematic relationship between Asherah and "trees" cf. Frevel (1995:749ff.) and the reaction by Keel (1998); now also Wiggins (2001).

[3] However, van der Toorn (in lectures given in Stellenbosch in 1997) also argued that the reason is not only the new finds, but the influence of *feminist studies*. There are references to goddesses in the Hebrew Bible; the Elephantine text mentioning Anat has long been known as have the hundreds of terracottas depicting women.

The emphasis on the *visual perspective* has also played a role as can be seen in the works of the *Fribourg School* (e.g. Winter 1987; Schroer 1987a, 1989 and Keel & Uehlinger 1998). On the importance of the visual material in this regard, Beach (1993:103) wrote: "The disappearance of the visual context has made it difficult for us to see these meanings. Re-vision of exegetical methods to include the visual also has implications for feminist biblical scholarship, since, in these cases and probably others, a **feminine component** (my emphasis) has become invisible".[4] This study endeavours to make a contribution in this regard and it is hoped that the women will forgive me if I as a *male* deal with *goddesses*.

1.2 *Rationale*

1.2.1 Previous studies

A complete survey of previous studies on the goddesses under discussion will not be given, especially as far as the iconography is concerned, and the relevant titles can be found in the list of *Works Cited* and quoted in the bibliographical part of the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

For convenience the names Anat, Asherah, Astarte, and Qedeshet will be used in this study whether referring to the names in Egyptian, Ugaritic, Hebrew or any other language. The reading "Qedeshet" (also: Qadesh, Qudshu or Qadishtu) merely follows Egyptological practice and does not propose any vocalisation. The order (Anat, Asherah, Astarte, and Qedeshet) is merely alphabetical and does not represent an order of importance or specific relationships.

In 1943 Pritchard published his *Palestinian figurines in relation to certain goddesses known through literature*, which contained a list of Palestinian sources, studied in comparison with other iconographic material (e.g. Egypt) and the written sources. He, however, was cautious about associating the figurines definitely with any of the known goddesses. Since then dissertations have been written on the goddess Anat (Eaton 1969 and Bowman 1978) which dealt with the (mostly Egyptian) iconographic material. Early monographs on Asherah primarily dealt with the Hebrew texts,

4 Cf. also Keel (1998:16-19) on other "logical" possibilities. Shlain (1998), who wrote from a different perspective (i.e. that of a neurosurgeon and keeping in mind that there is something like the "left- and- right- brain"), argued that the reason for the "decline of

including those from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (e.g. Reed 1949); this was also the case with Anat in the Ras Shamra texts (e.g. Kapelrud 1969). Patai (1967/1990) contained some visual material. The Egyptologists Stadelmann (1966, 1967) and Helck (1966, 1971, 1971a) studied the role of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt and dealt with the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian visual material.

Recent *monographic* studies on the goddesses under discussion are by Walls (1992)[5] on Anat in the Ugaritic texts, but with only a few sentences on the iconography (1992:83-84); Bonnet (1996), who studied Astarte, but only included something on the Phoenician visual material; and Keel & Uehlinger (1998:110ff.) who in their survey of divine representations dealt with the "Astarte plaques".

Under the influence of the discovery of the Khirbet el-Qôm and Kuntillet Ajrud material in the seventies, the eighties saw the start of the *Asherah boom* (Frevel 1995:922) or *craze* (Smith 2001:198ff.), making Asherah studies a "subset of ancient Near Eastern religion" (Wiggins 1998:231).[6] There are studies by Olyan (1988) and Maier (1986:81ff.) who dealt with the Qedeshet stelae as "Asherah" representations. Pettey (1990:173ff.) discussed some figurines as part of the "archaeological factors", but did not contribute much to the whole discussion.

Winter (1983/1987[2]) published a collection of 520 images in his *Frau und Göttin* which is a very useful collection of *illustrations* of goddesses.[7]

In the nineties the studies on Asherah by Dietrich & Loretz (1992), Wiggins (1993), Frevel (1995), Binger (1997: a 1991 dissertation) and Merlo (1998) appeared. Wiggins purposely excluded the iconography (1993:17-18, but cf. 173ff. and his article of 1991). Binger (1997:7) excluded iconography, although there is an excursus on Qedeshet (57-58), while Merlo (1998:225ff.) addressed the problem of iconography. Frevel (1995:Part 3) and Hadley

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the *goddess*" lies exactly in the rise of literacy and the consequent contrast between "images" and "texts" (which are more inclined towards the *male* deity).

5 Cf. also the unpublished Edinburgh dissertation by Lloyd (1994); unavailable to me.

6 Cf. Hadley (2000:11ff.). Although specifically interested in the history of the interpretation of the *Pillar Figurines* (which fall outside the corpus of this study), Kletter gave a survey of the various interpretations (1996:Chap. II) and wrote: "Asherah objects multiplied like mushrooms after the rain, so beware – there are many poisonous ones" (1996:77).

7 Cf. the reviews by Lipiński (1986) and van der Toorn (1986). On naked women in early Greek art and its comparisons cf. Böhm (1990), although she still worked within the "fertility goddess" paradigm.

(2000:Chapters 6-7; revision of a 1989 dissertation) dealt with the visual material in a more sustained fashion, although their works were *not* intended as iconographic studies or catalogues of the material. Both also concentrated on material from Palestine from the Iron Age. For Frevel (1995:922, 924) the whole idea of a "genuine" Asherah iconography is non-existent ("Es gibt keine genuine Ascheraikonographie").[8] The later "pillar figurines" were studied in great detail by Kletter (1996) with regard to Asherah. In his book on the religion of the seafarers, Brody (1998:26ff.) included iconographic material which he identified with Asherah, but he did not contribute much towards advancing this study; more relevant is the recent article by Wiggins (2001) on the methodology of conducting research on Asherah.

As far as the other goddesses under discussion are concerned, Wyatt (1984) gave a list of Anat presentations (cf. Cornelius 1993 and 2000). In the *articles* on Asherah (Wyatt 1999a), Anat (Day 1999) and Astarte (Wyatt 1999) in *DDD*^{2} there are some remarks on the visual material. Herrmann (1999) in an updated Astarte article listed the Egyptian iconographic material, but this was still incomplete (cf. now Cornelius 2000). Keel (1992a:203ff.) dealt with the iconographic "Qedeshet" material as did the present author (Cornelius 1993, 1999; cf. recently Frevel 2001).

To conclude: no detailed up-to-date catalogue or visual documentation (with proper photographs) is available for the iconography of the goddesses Anat, Asherah, Astarte, and "Qedeshet" and therefore this study has been undertaken.

1.2.2 Problem and hypothesis

The goddesses of Syro-Palestine (today Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian regions) are known from the Hebrew Bible, the texts from Ugarit and Egypt (where they were popular, like the gods Baal and Reshep) and Phoenician and Graeco-Roman inscriptions. But what did they look like, i.e. what was their iconography as part of *visible religion*?

Thousands of representations of women are known from the Ancient Near East (Winter 1987). With regard to the figure of Asherah, Wiggins (2001:183) recently made the point that there "were a multitude of goddesses and even more women than goddesses".

So how do we know:

- Whether a representation is a *goddess*?

[8] To which Keel (1998:16ff.) has reacted.

- What is the *name* of the goddess?
- What was her *function* in the society and religion of that period?

A goddess can be:

- *Identified* by her wings, crown (horned or Egyptian types), gesture (blessing, enthroned, smiting or menacing), holding animals (snakes, doves, hares or horned animals) as a “mistress of animals”, plants and sceptres, standing on animals (lion, horse, bull) or if she is being worshipped.[9]
- The goddess can then be described as being of a specific *type*, i.e. “armed goddess”.
- From there one can move towards describing her *function*, i.e. the armed goddess as a protector in war.
- It is more difficult to give the goddess a specific *name* (mostly known from the texts), e.g. “Anat”.

These questions (cf. also under 1.3 and 4.1) are especially acute when we want to study the goddesses of Syro-Palestine. The problem with the iconography of the goddesses we are dealing with is mainly twofold:

- How do we *identify* the goddess represented, especially with regard to Syria-Palestine, where there is only *one* stela with the name of Anat and *one* cylinder seal with the name Astarte available?[10]
- How do we *differentiate* between the goddesses under discussion? Anat and Astarte had very similar iconographies and were often confused. The million dollar question is still what Asherah looked like. Was she merely Qudshu/Qedeshet as many still believe?

The iconographies of these goddesses have to be studied in a comparative manner because of the closeness of the iconographies of Anat and Astarte (as was the case with the smiting/menacing Baal and Reshep studied in Cornelius 1994). In the literature some items are easily described as figures of either Anat or Astarte. Nowadays it has become popular to call nearly every figure “Asherah”. A case in point is the terracottas which were earlier referred to as

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[9] Which might perhaps even help to identify the women on *terracottas as goddesses*, e.g. for the woman holding her breasts: the worshipping figure on a scarab facing a woman holding her breasts (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 323) and the Anatolian woman holding her breasts with a table with offerings in front of her (Cholidis 1992:Pl. 43:2).

[10] With regard to the male deities of Syro-Palestine the situation is not much better, for the period under discussion there are only a few gods identified by inscriptions: Ilu on the dubious “Job stela” (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 34), Baal-Zaphon at Ugarit (Cornelius 1994:Pl. 39), Mekal of Beisan (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 1) and Keserty (Leibovitch 1948).

"Astarte figurines" (Albright 1939; still Tubb 1998:75), but later Asherah (cf. e.g. John Day 1992) became the more popular identification.

There were a multitude of goddesses (Keel 1998:37) and many divine names are known from Ugarit[11], but there are fewer iconographic types (Keel 1998:60)[12]. There seems to have been an obsession with the "A" goddesses (Wiggins 1996a:327) and usually the goddesses Anat, Asherah, and Astarte were taken to be possible candidates when a new representation was found. It should, however, be kept in mind that there were also *other* goddesses (Watson 1993); what about Shapsh, the Kotharôt, Pidray or the other daughters of Baal? Perhaps not all deities of the pantheon were depicted? (cf. Amiet 1980:40).

This study works with the hypothesis that the *individuality* of a deity (cf. also remarks under 1.3) should not be ignored (cf. Westenholz 1998:8) and that we should try – and can – identify some representations (cf. also 4.1). If this is possible for Egypt (and to a lesser extent Mesopotamia)[13], where there was an even greater multitude of deities and where *one* deity could be represented in *many forms*[14], or *one* image could represent *many deities*[15] (Cornelius 1997:25), the same could be true of Syro-Palestine. The problem is the lack of representations with divine names or labels for the Syro-Palestian region (in contrast to Egypt). The ancient people knew which deity was depicted and educated people could identify gods from insignia, but **we** have lost the key to interpret the representations (Barnett 1978:28*). In earlier studies the idea of "the goddess" was over-emphasized. It is not enough to only talk of the "goddess", the "nude goddess" or the "armed goddess"; one should try and give her a specific *name* (cf. van der Toorn 1986:498).

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11 Del Olmo Lete (1999:78) listed 240, but the number of "individual" deities is lower, with even fewer goddesses (about 30 in the pantheon lists, eight of these are female: cf. *CAT* 1.47, 1.118). For a short overview of Ugaritic goddesses and religion cf. Watson (1993) and Wyatt (1999b).

12 The problem is greater for the period under discussion (2nd millennium BCE); in the later periods (1st millennium) there were "fewer" deities in the pantheons of Syro-Palestine and some deities "disappeared" from the scene, e.g. Ilu and Anat. Keel (1998: 38) remarked that Asherah was the main goddess of 7-6th century Palestine. This might be the reason why most representations from this period are usually identified as "Asherah" figures.

13 For literature on the iconography of ANE deities, cf. Cornelius (1997).

14 E.g. Atum as lion, bull, calf, ram, falcon, beetle, phoenix, pigeon, monkey, ichneumon, snake, lizard, eel and crocodile (Mýsliwiec 1979).

15 E.g. the "tree goddess" as Isis, Hathor, Nut, etc. (Keel 1992a:Chap. II and 1998:37-38).

1.2.3 Aim

The aim of this study was to collect original iconographic sources on the goddesses Anat, Asherah, Astarte and Qedeshet and provide an iconographical typology. It was then decided which goddess is represented by a specific item and what this means (function) in a cultural-religio-historical context. It was not the intention to provide a name for each image; there should be a balance between caution in identifying the images and too easily describing an image as Anat or Astarte.

The primary aim was *to provide primary visual source material in one book which can be used by other scholars writing the history of ancient Syro-Palestinian culture and religion*.[16] The plates provide a good photograph of the original.[17] The detailed *catalogue* traces the exact present location of the item, and provides technical (find context and description of the media and material) and bibliographical information, as well as a detailed description of each item. Some iconographic and selected religio-historical observations are included although this study is more on the *iconographical* than iconological side. The study has its limitations as far as archaeological information pertaining to find context and dating are concerned, nor was it intended to write a history of the religion of each goddess or to relate the images to the texts in detail.

This study is the sequel to the book on the iconography of Baal (Cornelius 1994, Cornelius 1996 and 1998) as promised (cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:553). Some of the ideas on the goddesses under discussion here have already been developed in other publications (Cornelius 1993, 1999 and 2000).[18]

1.3 *Approach*

1.3.1 Presuppositions and definitions

This study deals only with *anthropomorphic* or *iconic* representations, excluding isolated symbols, objects (trees), animals (lions) or aniconic

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[16] I.e. responding to the request by Helga Weippert (1988:296n1) for a detailed treatment of Palestinian divine representations.

[17] Which is needed and more useful than some of the clumsy and dubious drawings one finds in older publications like that of Macalister's *Gezer* (e.g. 1912:Vol. III:pls CCXX-CCXXI; cf. Cornelius 1994:19).

[18] Cf. my articles "Anat", "Astarte", "Qudshu/Qadishtu", "Mistress-of-animals" for the new *Iconography of Deities and Demons* (Uehlinger & Eggler).

representations[19] which might be related to the goddesses under discussion. The metal pendants depicting figures with only the face and pudenda or caprids flanking it (e.g. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Figs. 48-49, 80)[20] are excluded (cf. further under 2.5).

A limited period in time is studied, i.e. *the period c. 1500-1000 BCE* or the second part of the second millennium BCE, or in archaeological terms the Late Bronze and Early Iron (Iron Age I) periods. This means that the whole problematic of the Asherah iconography in the 1st millennium and Israelite religion (and the "pillar figurines") is excluded.

The study looks at:

- material from the *Egyptian New Kingdom*, where the goddesses were very popular (mostly relief-stelae with names which identify the goddess represented);
- various types of material from *Ugarit*;
- certain types of *terracottas* from Palestine which are important visual sources for this region.

Syro-Palestine refers to the region which corresponds to the contemporary states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinian regions, as well as Jordan. The view is held that there was "a unity of religious culture in ancient Syro-Palestine" (van der Toorn 1995:2043), but also specific local manifestations (e.g. at Ugarit). "Canaan"[21] would be too limited (only the region between Byblos and Gaza) and excludes Ugarit (Rainey 1963: *CAT* 4.96:7). Furthermore, although the name "Canaan" did exist in the ancient world, it is uncertain exactly where it was and, because of the *ideology* (Lemche 1991; Uehlinger 1999-2000) behind the name as used in the Hebrew Bible, it should rather not be used.[22]

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[19] E.g. the relationship between Asherah and trees, serpents or lions (cf. Wiggins 1991 and 2001). It is debatable whether the "heifer" on the golden cup from Ugarit is to be related to Anat as proposed by Caubet (2002a:22) nor do I agree with Serwint (2002:334) on Asherah with the "arms outstretched in the guise of the tree of life". Not every tree is an Asherah (Wiggins) and not every horse is an Astarte. For the definition of *iconic* and the terms "divine image", "cultic image", "divine representation" and "votive image" cf. Cornelius (1997:21-22, 23n8); also Berlejung (1998) and Dick (1999).

[20] Hestrin (1987, 1987a, 1991) in a series of articles looked at *symbols* for Asherah.

[21] The terms Canaanite/Canaanites are used by Negbi (1976:2) and Tubb (1998:13) to indicate the region known as the "Levant" (which refers more to the coastal region). Cf. on Canaan now Tammuz (2001).

[22] Still used in Cornelius (1994), albeit with reservations and in a more general sense. "Canaanite" is not so harmless as Schloen (2001:201) argues. The term has generally

Items which have been studied come from Syro-Palestine, but because the goddesses were so popular in Egypt (both with the pharaohs and common people), Egyptian material had to be included (not even mentioning the fact that some of these items contain the *names* of the goddesses).

Fertility played a role in the ancient world, but earlier studies over-emphasised the *fertility* aspect of the goddesses under discussion (still guilty is Cornelius 1989).[23] The same is true of the idea of the "mother goddess" (still in Vermaak 1995) and the now rejected Frazerian misnomer "sacred/cultic prostitution" of the "Canaanites". This "caricature created by Protestant prudery" (Albertz 1994:87; German 1992:135) has been aptly dealt with by Frevel (1995:562ff., cf. 2001a) and will not be repeated.[24] There has been a shift away from the paradigm of *Israel versus Canaan* since the seventies, culminating in the *Festschrift* for Cross (Miller *et al.* 1987) and the Asherah studies of the nineties. That the culture and cult of the so-called "Canaanites" were not so different from those of the ancient Hebrews or Israelites of the Early Iron Age has now been accepted.[25] The Israelites were "Canaanites" and "Israelite religion" a *subset* of Canaanite religion as the *matrix* of Israelite

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fallen into disuse and the relationship with Israel is not any longer seen as that direct (Grabbe 1991 and Smith 2001:196-197, 224, 2002a:21).

[23] For a critique on the "fertility" paradigm in interpreting earlier *figures* cf. Ucko (1968) and now Hansen (2000-2001).

[24] Cf. already Helck (1971). Dever (1996:85, 88n4) is not convinced, although he admits that the "licentious" element should be negated. Mulder, in his study on "Canaanite goddesses", still worked with the notions of the "mother goddess" and "sacred prostitution", but seemed to reflect a sensitivity towards the ancient people when he wrote that it was "geen middel voor het plegen van lozsinnigheid, maar een zware dienst ter ere van de godin". However, the borderline between the two visions could easily become blurred. The sexual-erotic was an aspect of ancient piety, but the ancient people regarded sexuality as being more natural, more ordinary than we do (1965:37-38). One could ask: why more natural?

[25] Their material culture was also not much different from that of the "Canaanites": the contrast between so-called "Canaanites" living in cities and the "Israelites" living in hill-side villages is not that clear, nor is the so-called *collar-rim jar* typical of the early "Israelites". Cities and villages co-existed next to each other and these jars occur in the Late Bronze Age and not only as part of village culture. Cf. Kamlah (2000:166ff., esp. 172 and 175).

religion (Coogan 1987a:115-116; Niehr 1990:181ff., 2001:294, 306-307)[26], which formed part of a *common theology* (van der Toorn 1995:2043).[27]

The Ugaritic texts were earlier used to emphasise how "morally debased" and "sexually indulgent" the "Canaanites"[28] were, obsessed with "alcohol and sex" (Loretz 1990:122).[29] Anat and Baal supposedly take part in sexual orgies according to readings based on uncertain passages in *CAT* 1.10, 1.11, 1.13 (cf. Day 1992), as do their followers. See the illustration in *Great People of the Bible* (Wright 1979:206-207 = **Fig. A**) of the "acts" being performed by the priests and sensuously dancing priestesses ("temple prostitutes" or ordinary women?) before well-known representations of Baal and Asherah.[30] The "idols" were earlier depicted as grotesque, fire-spitting, smoke-bellowing monsters (Keel & Uehlinger 1990/1996:Fig. 1). Anat was once described as "the patroness of wanton love" (de Moor 1987:7), but has since become an "adolescent tomboy" (Walls 1992:75). She used to be described as cannibalistic (*CAT* 1.96), which has now been shown to be unjustified (Lewis 1996). [31]

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[26] The "clash" was not so much with the "gods and goddesses" of Canaan (the deities of the nations), but an internal development within Israel, the rejection of older Israelite traditions which included the worship of Asherah, Astarte and Baal (cf. Halpern 2002).

[27] The reason for the greater open-mindedness and greater respect for other religions (which includes their iconic aspects) Sasson (2002:69-70) explained on the basis of the pluralistic religious environment we live in.

[28] On the whole stereotyping of "Canaanite" culture and how the "abominable" Canaanite religion has been analysed, cf. Hillers (1985), with an overview in LaRocca-Pitts (2001:6ff.), cf. also Hackett (1989:71ff.); Keel (1995a); Knauf (2001); Lemche (1991); Niehr (1995:48-50); Smith (2001:98ff.); Whitelam (1996:83ff.) and Wyatt (1999b:529-530). On the NY Times and its degrading description of the goddess Astarte at Beisan cf. Davidson (1996:110-111).

[29] With reference to *CAT* 1.114, but as Wyatt (2002:405) argued, this would be applying an alien and moralistic ethic to an ancient text. This notion has been popularised by James Michener in his *The Source*, where the "sacred sex" is described and afterwards the child born from the union is sacrificed. More serious is Bertolt Brecht's *Baal*, which one writer described as "synonymous with evil and whose cult practised ceremonial fornication (**sic!**) and child sacrifice" (http:// members.aol.com / petemellen / BaalReviews.htm).

[30] The Baal stela is well-known (Cornelius 1994:Pl.32). The image of Asherah (?) with Hathor hairdo, facing the front and holding plants seems to reflect the interpretation of the "Qedeshet" material by the Albright-Cross School as representing Asherah (cf. 4.4 below). In this case she does not have the naked lower body with the shapely hips of "Qedeshet" ("censored" as on **Fig. B** or the version of the senior lady Asherah?).

[31] Perhaps behind all this lies "Orientalism" (cf. Saïd 1978 and now MacKenzie 1995), the idea of the sensual and decadent Orient (in contrast to the West). The Palestinian literary scholar Saïd (1979:188) argued that for the West, the Orient was associated with sex.

It is interesting that the same idea of the "Canaanite cult of lust" (*Excursus*)[32] played a role in the discovery and study of visual material of naked women as a few examples will show:

Excursus: The "Canaanite cult of lust" – a leaf from the reception history of Syro-Palestinian religion and iconography

Representations of naked women seemed to have somewhat bothered earlier scholars working in the Ancient Near East. Wilkinson (1878:Pl. LV = **Fig. B**) even depicted the naked woman on the Egyptian stela BM EA 191 as fully-dressed (compare with **Fig. A**).The ithyphallic Min was also "censored".

But the naked women in *clay* evoked the most comment. Bliss (1889-1900) wrote on finding a female clay figurine: "she now rejoices in her comparatively entire anatomy, though (I regret to say) not clothed" (Tufnell 1965:119).

Albright, who was well-known for his negative views on "Canaanite" religious values (cf. Long 1997:134 and Schoville 1994) described the goddesses as nude and savage: "Goddesses of fertility play a much greater rôle among the Canaanites than they do among any other ancient people", Canaanite goddesses were nearly always represented naked, even in the Egyptian cult, "in striking contrast to the modestly garbed native Egyptian goddesses". Canaanite religion with its "orgiastic nature-worship", "cult of fertility in the form of serpent symbols[33] and sensuous nudity" stand in contrast to the lofty ethical monotheism of the Israelites (1946a:177, 214).[34] The "Astarte plaques", as Albright called them (1939), were for him …

This is reflected in paintings like those of Delacroix (Benjamin 2001) and the books of the 19th century Orientalist Richard Burton. Maier (1986:142n112) cited Seibert: "everything concerning sex seemed natural and, therefore, decent to man in the ancient Orient" (Does this mean that sex is "indecent" in the West?).

32 Presented in lectures in Lund (Mettinger) and Leuven (Schoors) in 1996. The excursus concentrates on how the iconography was interpreted; for other examples cf. note 28.

33 His "obsession" with the cult of *serpents* of the so-called Canaanites is found in the description of many objects, e.g. a broken statue from Tell Beit Mirsim (now identified as part of a cloak; cf. already Galling 1937:459; Merhav 1985:Pl. III and Schroer 1985:66ff.) as a *serpent goddess* (Albright 1938:42-43, Pls. 21a and 22), a Shechem plaque, and a broken terracotta described as perhaps having a serpent around her neck (1968:69, Pl. 27:6). Cf. also Coppens (1944:44, 50-51) on the serpent cult (he dealt with some of the terracottas) and now for a more balanced view on the serpent iconography Keel (1992a:195ff.), Koh (1994) and Buchholz (2000).

34 He also wrote that the Carthaginians with their "human sacrifices and cult of sex" were crushed by the morally superior Romans, which reminded him of early Israel.

imitations of Mesopotamian Ishtar plaques. However the Canaanites (**sic!**) lost no time in substituting carnality for the grace of the Babylonian originals". The Mesopotamian examples depict the mother-goddess, but the Canaanites portray a sacred courtesan … (1946:76-77).

In his *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan* Albright (1968) is more subdued, but the book still has the subtitle *Two contrasting faiths*.[35]

Burrows's (1941:237-238) views seem to echo those of Albright. He emphasised the fertility cult of Canaanite religion which stood opposed to high standards of conduct and social relationships represented by Israelite religion. This strong emphasis on the sexual aspect of life found expression in sacred prostitution. He admitted that we should not judge this by Christian standards, but it was nevertheless a serious obstacle to moral and social progress. Israel was infected with this plague of ancient society and this led to "backsliding" into moral perversity. The struggle against Canaan was therefore justified[36] and this we learn from representations of Canaanite religion.

Albright's disciple Wright (1962:112) continued this moralistic trend when describing the "manner of Canaan". For Wright the chief emphasis in this religion was upon fertility and sex. Even the mythology acted out in festivals would have been every bit as sensuous. Sacred prostitution was common and practised in the name of religion. "Fertility as a goddess actually became a sacred prostitute who, curiously enough, was called the Holy One". Writing on the clay figurines he repeated Albright's point that the Canaanites altered the Mesopotamian mother-goddess to emphasise the sexual features. This sexual emphasis of Canaanite religion was certainly extreme and at its worst could only have appealed to the baser aspects of man. Religion as commonly practised in Canaan, therefore, must have been a rather sordid and degrading business, when judged by our standards".

Edwards (1955:51) in his publication of the Winchester stela (following Albright) still added that the goddesses were "… also associated with sensuousness and self-indulgence". Indirectly (in a different context but typical of the period), Donner & Röllig (1964:59) talked of Anat having " … die grob sinnlichen Züge der syrischen Fruchtbarkeitsgottheiten".

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[35] And cf. his student Cross: *Canaanite myth and Hebrew epic* (1973). This Excursus does not ignore the valuable contribution of Albright and his "school" to ANE studies in general, but is just meant to indicate just how much we are all "children of our time".

[36] This reminds one of the "abuse" of the *Canaan versus Israel* stereotype to justify the cause of the white Voortrekkers as "Israelites" against the Blacks as "Canaanites" in South Africa (cf. Sundermeier 1990 and Deist 1994).

The idea of the "decadence" of "Canaanite" culture still persists today as can be found in Millard's description of Syro-Palestinan religion and iconography: "there was freedom for every indulgence", but "no sign of a moral code has appeared" (1996:188).[37]

1.3.2 Method

This study is necessarily orientated and biased towards the *visual* sources. There has been continuous interest in the study of Syro-Palestinian religion and the non-written sources. The first type of approach concentrated on the link between archaeological material and religion, e.g. the studies of Cook (1908 and 1925) and Albright (1942/1946), although Albright also included texts. Ahlström (1984) again revived this approach; Dever has written countless articles and chapters (cf. most recently 2002 and the published dissertation by Dever's student, Nakhai 2001) and a volume edited by Gittlen (2002) was devoted to this theme.[38]

The second type of interest was in the *visual material* as such and is already to be found in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1909/1927^2) and Galling (1937/ 1977^2), followed by Pritchard's famous *The Ancient Near East in Pictures. Relating to the Old Testament* (1954/1969/1974^2).[39]

These studies[40], however, also included general images on the material culture and *realia*. Keel was the first to devote specialised attention to the visual sources, or as we now call it *iconography,* in order to write a history of ancient Syro-Palestinian religion. A constant stream of publications has appeared, started by the best-seller *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bild-*

37 Completely ignoring texts in which the care of orphans, widows and the poor (*CAT* 1.16:VI:45-50 and 1.17:V:7-8, cf. Fensham 1962 and Niehr 1987:35) is addressed and other instances where Baal himself rejects "a sacrifice of whoredom, and a sacrifice of the debauching of handmaidens" (*CAT* 1.4:III:10-23 as translated by Wiggins 2002:96).

38 For a perspective from another professional archaeologist who takes the different approaches to study ancient religion seriously, cf. Hansen (*s.a.*) and other volumes (e.g. Biehl *et al.* 2001).

39 There is a need for an updated version, but in the digital world of today the Web and CDROM would be more user-friendly media (cf. Cornelius & Venter 2000).

40 Gressmann and Pritchard include religious images and in Galling there are various articles with religious content (e.g. "Götterbild"). Excluded are general works on Syro-Palestinian art and introductions to Palestinian archaeology (e.g. Mazar 1992) with scattered information. Weippert (1988) included a paragraph on LB divine representations.

symbolik (Keel 1972/1996[5], in English 1978 and 1997)[41] and culminating in the "blockbuster", *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole*, commonly known as *GGG* (Keel & Uehlinger 1992/1998[4]/2001[5]/English 1998a)[42]. The contribution of the *Fribourg School*[43] is well-known.[44]

The view that is held here is not that non-written sources are of greater importance than texts or that the Hebrew Bible has limited value but rather that both texts and non-written visual sources are needed to arrive at a more *balanced* view of ancient Syro-Palestinian/Hebrew religion.[45] The iconographic sources like the epigraphic material "orientate" (van der Toorn 2002:46) its interpretation, but then the art material as *epiphany of the divine* (Dietrich & Loretz 1992:185) need not be regarded as secondary to texts.[46] A

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[41] Translated into Japanese, Dutch and Spanish.

[42] In this study the 4th edition was used. Cf. the over-positive review by Knauf (1994a), who described it as the first real history of Israelite religion. More critical (but appreciative) are Weippert (1994); Hartenstein (1995); Frevel (1995:739ff.); and Zwickel (1999:34ff.). Kletter (1996:23-24) somewhat misrepresented the work of Keel and his students; there might be links with Old Testament Studies, but to say that this is not iconographic per se is highly debatable. On the possibilities of using imagery cf. also Beach (1993). Dever dealt with the iconographic approach specifically (1995:48-49) and called it "a turning point". He remarked that this perspective has not been properly taken into account in North American scholarship (cf. however, Pope 1977 who did make use of iconography; Roberts 1985:95 and now Smith 2001:193, 220).

[43] Which is not without criticism, cf. previous footnote and e.g. Mittmann's (1997) substantial critique to Schroer (1983) with regard to the hand symbolism.

[44] Cf. www.unifr.ch/bif/Chapters/icon.html; Uehlinger (2000:404); Keel (1998a:218); Schroer (1995) and lists of publications in Keel & Uehlinger (1996:184-187); also the two Stellenbosch doctoral dissertations of Klingbeil (1999) and Eggler (2000) completed under my guidance and published in *OBO*. A new project is the *Iconography of Deities and Demons* (eds Uehlinger & Eggler).

[45] As is the case in Egyptology and Classics, cf. e.g. Drijvers (1978). On the value of iconography in the study of Ugaritic religion cf. Wyatt (1999b:580).

[46] Handy (1994:51ff.) regarded the art sources as "minor sources" because they do not contribute much information to the study of the relationship between the deities. What about the relationships as indicated on cylinder seals (e.g. Uehlinger 1992) and on the painted mug from Ugarit (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 55)? Wiggins in his study on Asherah (1993:19) emphasised the uncertainty in the iconography of Asherah, but this does not make iconography a source secondary to the texts. Iconographical sources (or religious artifacts) might be "ambiguous" (Wiggins 1996:93) in some cases, but texts are not less so (cf. the Asherah debate and within the context of this study the many interpretations of *CAT* 1.10, 1.11, 1.13 and 1.96!). But to state that iconography should only be applied to what is known from the texts and that the primary source for religion is the "written record" (Wiggins 1997:111) is one-sided. Recently Wiggins (2001:159, 181) still argued that textual sources remain primary, but that iconographic evidence provides important additional information. He also stated that iconography informs the world of much that

picture sometimes does say more than a thousand words (Cornelius 1998:174) and images should be given *the right to be seen* (Keel 1992a: *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*). In the same way that the Bible is mute if you do not know Hebrew, and we have to stop being deaf and think the pots are mute (Dever 2002:24), so we have to learn to *see* (Keel 1985:38) the images in order *to see the many faces of the goddess.*

Iconography is an independent source for the study of religion (Amiet 1980:37). In a volume on developments in *Cognitive Archaeology* Renfrew wrote "… iconographic representation is one of the most promising routes towards the detail of some belief systems" (Renfrew 1994:49). *Cognitive iconography* or *iconography of mind* can orient us towards the belief systems and cultural symbols of the ancient world, helping us *to see through the eyes of the Ancient Near East* (Keel 1978:8). This does not mean that images should not be interpreted or that their meaning is sometimes not ambiguous.

Thousands of sources are available in the study of *visible religion*. In Syro-Palestine it is especially stamp-seals and terracottas that provide illuminating sources.[47] Zevit called this "tangible, physical expressions of shared beliefs", "prayers in clay" (2001:267, 274).

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texts cannot, and that it is a valuable tool in providing insights into ancient religions. Wiggins was responding to views that he disregards the importance of iconography. However, this does seem to be the case as he only regards iconography as of value, "When an iconic representation is securely established on the basis of what is known from texts and contexts …". This is also the point of departure of Lipiński's review of my *Baal and Reshep* (1996).

[47] For an outdated overview of Palestinian sources cf. Keel (1985; cf. now Uehlinger 1997). The sources are: stelae, statues, reliefs and paintings which are rare in Palestine, metal figurines (bronzes) and pendants, ivories, graffiti, painted pottery, seal-amulets and baked clay figurines or terracottas. The seal-amulets (cf. now Keel 1995 and 1997) remain "guide fossils" of ancient Palestinian religion where monumental iconography is lacking, but the terracottas are important as reflecting continuity over a longer period (Uehlinger 1997:101, 111). There are c. 10 000 stamp seals from legal excavations (500 from Jordan) and 400-450 cylinder seals (Keel 1995:8). The second largest medium, the *terracottas*, is in need of a new study (Hackett 1989:70n12; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:110n57 and Uehlinger 1997:109), cf. inter alia Holland (1975, 1977) and now Kletter (1996, 2001). Holland studied 2715 items (958 human figurines: solid-pillar figurines, hollow figurines and plaques) and Kletter a total of 1852 human figurines with 854 "pillar figurines" (Kletter 1996:83). Zevit (2001:268n2) noted: Holland is more embracing but unwieldy, Kletter is again more useful for the specific type, but too restricted for all types (cf. criticism in Tappy 1998). A catalogue and documentation for the *terracotta female plaques* form part of a new project of the author (commencing in 2002 and undertaken with the financial assistance of the University of Stellenbosch and the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation).

This does not mean that the images "speak" directly to us; we make them speak – *meaning is in the eye of the beholder* (Gombrich 1968).[48] The images have to be interpreted and given meaning in order to try and recapture the *vision of the people behind the pictures*.[49] But in the same way texts do not "speak for themselves" and one wonders why some scholars are still prejudiced against the value of texts. As Ward (1974:21) wrote: "neither the archaeological nor the textual evidence on which we must depend is capable of simple and straightforward interpretation".

No detailed discussion on the methods applied in general *iconography*[50] and specifically the *iconography of religion* (cf. Moore 1976) will be undertaken here. This study accepts Schulman's (1984:76) definition of iconography as "that manner in which a concept is characteristically represented visually", and iconographic attributes as "those individual graphic symbols inherent in and peculiar to a particular concept which could distinguish it from any similar concept … iconography is the manner in which the totality of the concept is pictured".

The whole question of the relation between *image and text* is not our concern here, because this is a "pure" iconographic study.[51]

A few remarks on the identification of a goddess figure with a specific goddess's name seem necessary.[52] The hordes of images found in a container at the shrine at Byblos (Seeden 1980:Pls. 72-76) give some indication of the *many images* (and *many deities*) we are dealing with. As has been said above, there was more than one goddess active in the period under discussion.

The approach that has been adopted is to start with inscribed images (only available from Egypt) where we have the *name* of the goddess (e.g. Anat) who is depicted; it is then compared with other similar images (e.g. on

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[48] Kemp (1992): *Der Betrachter ist im Bild*, cf. on the *reception* of art Kaufmann in Turner (1996).

[49] Adapted from Dever (2002:24) on "pots and archaeology".

[50] Cf. Panofsky 1983 (with criticism by Lamprichs 1999); Freedberg (1989); Keel (1992a:267ff.) and now Bonatz (2000) and Heinz & Bonatz (2002).

[51] Cf. Brunner (1979); Harms (1990); Shlain (1998); Wedewer (1985) and Finkel & Geller (1997; especially the articles of Green and Lambert).

[52] On the problems related to the identification of a deity in a visual representation cf. Cornelius (1993:22 and 1994:14-16). Cf. Turner (2000:58-59) on the attribution of iconological meaning to an iconographical object.

metal pendants and terracottas), and then an iconographic "profile" of the specific goddess is constructed.[53]

It is important to note that the *total iconography* should be kept in mind and not only individual traits, attributes or symbols like wings or serpents: many goddesses have wings and this is typical not only of Anat (although she is described as "winged" in the Ugaritic myths). This means that a figure which is winged is not per se to be identified with Anat as has been the custom in the past. Neither is Anat the only "war goddess"; Astarte also played a martial role in Egypt and in the Ugaritic texts.

At this point something has to be said on the use of *texts* in interpreting the visual material, especially those coming from the soil of Ugarit. The "interfacing" of the texts with the non-written material is important (del Olmo Lete 1999:10-11 and cf. Loretz 2001), but in the past the Ugaritic texts (mostly the mythical cycle) were used to identify the visual representations which were discovered at Ras Shamra, as if the myths are like a "Bible" which was illustrated in Christian art with its scenes of Bible stories and persons. There are countless examples from the excavation reports of Schaeffer, e.g. linking the ivory musician with Anat (1963:132, Figs. 12-13). Instances of linking the image with some isolated reference in the myths will be found in the descriptions in Chapter 2. However, other examples might illustrate my point further: The painted mug depicting a seated deity with standing serving deity (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 55) Pope (1971) compared with *CAT* 1.4:II, IV[54], where Asherah serves Ilu. Maier proposed that the description of Asherah in the same text might indicate that she is stripping and naked and he compared this with the *naked* Qudshu (Qedeshet) representations (which he identified with Asherah 1986:94).[55]

However, some of the texts are obscure and open to different readings, translations and interpretations. The Ugaritic texts also include more than just

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[53] This approach was judged positively in the reviews of my *Baal and Reshep* (Cornelius 1994) by Lipiński (1996) and Pardee (1999).

[54] Cf. the English translations of the Ugaritic myths in Parker *et al.* (1997) and now Wyatt (2002).

[55] This rather refers to Asherah as a "housewife" doing her spinning and washing! On the other hand, others used *iconography* to substantiate a specific textual interpretation, e.g. Loewenstamm (1982:121-122: Anat did not have a beard and side-whiskers), Sanmartin (1980: hairdress and horns of Anat) and Wyatt (1992:418-19: the winged Anat). Wimmer (1994:40) even linked the Ugaritic myths with a fragmentary Egyptian inscription.

the myths (Baal-Anat cycle, Keret and Aqhat epics).[56] More serious is the question of how to interpret/understand the interface between images and texts because the relationship between the Ugaritic texts and the divine images is still under discussion (Niehr 1998:28).

The mythological texts from Ras Shamra are still the only first-hand contemporary *written* sources on Syro-Palestinian religion at our disposal, but it should be kept in mind that Ugarit was but one *type* of Syro-Palestinian religion (Niehr 1995:46). The Emar texts still have to be fully utilised where there was a different pantheon and Astarte the partner of Baal (Fleming 1992:216ff.).

Although we spoke of "Syro-Palestinian religion" as a unit, the complexity of Syro-Palestinian religion has to be kept in mind. What is known of the religion of Ugarit should not automatically be applied to material from Palestine further south (cf. Smith 2001:196). The exact pantheon of Late Bronze Age Palestine is not known and we do not know whether Anat (Ugarit) or Astarte (Emar) was the main female partner of Baal. The type of religion described in the Ugaritic myths also does not necessarily correspond to the different *levels* of local and popular religious experience and expression as represented by, for example, the hundreds of terracottas available today (cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:119n70 and Frevel 1995:568ff.). The levels of religious experience (Albertz 1992:39-43 and cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:470) still need to be properly applied to the iconographic sources in a detailed fashion, although the strict division between the levels of state and family religion should not be over-emphasised.[57]

The critical observations of Uehlinger (1991:875, 1992:350 and 1998-2001:64) have to be kept in mind, namely that the importance of iconography does not merely lie in the "individual names" of the divine image. The "Typisierung von Rollen" and the function of the divine type in the image (e.g. as "weather god": ^{d}IM) is primary and the "name" only functions on a

[56] Cf. e.g. the god Reshep, who is hardly mentioned in the myths, but plays a role in other texts. For Stadelmann (1966:75) the myths are "high literature" composed by priests, Niehr (1999) described them as "theological lectures" and del Olmo Lete (1999:vii-viii) called the myths representative and not so much functional.

[57] Cf. the criticism on the term "popular religion" by Wyatt (1999b:541n37); Sasson (2002:68) and the description of van der Toorn (2002).

second level (e.g. Teshub, Addu, Hadad or Baal) when the specific social and cultural context and period of time are kept in mind.[58]

However, because this study is trying to answer questions such as “What did Asherah look like in Ugaritic art?”, an identification by name is proposed. As will be seen by the structure of the *Corpus Figurarum* and the discussion in Chapter 2, the “type” and “role” are first determined *before* attempting an identification by *name*. Galling (1937:221ff. and 1977) studied representations of goddesses according to *artistic* medium, whereas Winter (1987) and Weippert (1988:293ff.) did so according to *type*. However, this study is closer to that of Helga Weippert, who worked with the descriptive pre-iconographic (i.e. “goddess on the lion”) instead of Winter’s more iconological-interpretative “war goddess”[59] or “Syrian Great Goddess”. Before an interpretation is made, the item first has to be *described* properly.

1.3.3 Design

The items are described in detail in the *Catalogue* which follows the main chapters (2-4). In Chapter 2 the five major iconographical types which have been identified (armed, seated, standing, equestrian and naked woman holding objects) are discussed by comparing items from other periods and in some cases other cultures. Chapter 3 contains observations on the media types, provenances, iconographic attributes and titles on the inscribed items. Chapter 4 deals with the problems of identification, the iconographic typology of each goddess, and finally makes some general conclusions.

At the end of this study there are a list of all works cited, plates of the catalogue items and other illustrations, and tables.

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[58] “The weathergod of Canaan” occurs at Emar (Fleming 1994). Amiet (1980:40) also looked at the relationship between texts and images but chose to describe the *function* rather than the names. However, his “god with streams” is a description of an iconographical *type* rather than an account of its function. On the possibility of the identification of “single divine” personalities cf. now Green (1996).

[59] An *armed* deity need *not* be related to *war*, cf. the armed Reshep with Qedeshet and Min, and the armed Anat on a private triad stela (**Cat 1.1**) which has nothing to do with war.

CHAPTER 2: ICONOGRAPHIC TYPES

In Chapters 2 to 4 the items described in the **catalogue** will be discussed. To make cross-referencing easier, the items are cited as e.g. **Cat 2.1** which refers to the number in the descriptive catalogue (the same number is used on the *plates*), the type (**2** = seated goddess) and the specific item number. Cross-references to discussions in other paragraphs are given (e.g. 3.4.1 for the titles of Anat) and to other comparative figures (e.g. **Fig. 4**).

Five main iconographic types were identified:

The armed goddess (2.1 with **Cat 1**)	11 items
The seated goddess (2.2 with **Cat 2**)	8 items
The standing goddess (2.3 with **Cat 3**)	14 items
The equestrian goddess (2.4 with **Cat 4**)	28 items
Naked woman holding objects ("Qedeshet") (2.5 with **Cat 5**)	66 items
Total:	127 items

2.1 *The armed goddess* (Cat 1.1-1.10*)*

Armed goddesses[1] were common in the ANE, whether as Ishtar (Colbow 1991), or in the form of the Syro-Palestinian "smiting" goddess.[2]

In the catalogue *three* types of the armed goddess have been identified:

- the seated menacing goddess (**Cat 1.1**)
- the standing menacing goddess (**Cat 1.1a-1.6**)
- the standing armed (not menacing) goddess (**Cat 1.7-1.10**).

Such figures are commonly described as "smiting" deities (Collon 1972)[3], but in a study on the iconography of the gods Baal and Reshep (Cornelius 1994:255, cf. also 1999b:269), it has been argued that the term "menacing" is more appropriate, because the lifted menacing hand (without a weapon) in itself is important as a *gesture of power* (3.3.3).

2.1.1 The menacing seated goddess (Cat 1.1)

Cat 1.1 is the only example of the *seated* menacing goddess for the period under discussion. It occurs on the lower part of an Egyptian stela of which the larger upper part depicts the goddess called "Qedeshet" in a triad (cf. **Cat 5.1**

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[1] Or the so-called "war goddess", but this term already says something on the *function* of such images.

[2] Falsone (1986); Negbi (1976:84: "female warriors in smiting pose") and Seeden (1980: "standing armed figures").

[3] Cf. for other literature Lipiński (1995:181 note 457).

and description under 2.5.1). The enthroned goddess with *atef* crown lifts a battle-axe menacingly above her head and holds a shield with a spear in the other hand in front of her.[4] She is approached by a row of worshippers.

This figure is comparable to the seated menacing *Reshep* on stelae on which he is identified by the hieroglyphic inscriptions (Wilkinson 1878:Pl. LV:4 = **Fig. 1**). Perhaps the image of Anat was influenced by that of Reshep (who is depicted on the stela above, **Cat 5.1**). In later periods she is shown seated (e.g. **Fig. 11**) but not armed. The battle-axe is similar to that of Reshep (Cornelius 1994:Pls. 9, 11-13, 15-17) and on the triad stela **Cat 5.3** is shown as lowered. Reshep is also shown standing and holding a spear and shield together (Cornelius 1994:Pls. 2, 5, 7, 10, 12-14). Later Phoenician seals depict an armed (but not menacing/smiting) figure on a throne with Hathor headdress (sundisk with cow horns) with an axe resting on her shoulder, usually identified as Astarte (Gubel 1980 and 1987:166 with Pl. XXXIV:115 = **Fig. 2**).[5]

An identical figure to **Cat 1.1** occurs on two other disputed items. The first item is a relief, said at one time to be in the Michaélidis collection in Cairo (Winter 1987:Fig. 209 = **Fig. 3**), but now lost[6], which may mean that it is presumably a fake (Leclant 1975a:257, n37; Day 1999:39). There has been no definite publication, although it was first reproduced in Cassuto (1971:Frontispiece) and taken over by many publications. Contra Walls (1992:83n5) there are enough comparisons with **Cat 1.1** to identify it with "Anat", but as the original could not be found, it is excluded from the catalogue. It looks like a "mirror image" (cf. Wyatt 1984:333) of **Cat 1.1**. Secondly, there is a situla (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 15 = **Fig. 4)** published by Grdseloff (1942:28f., Pl. VI), supposedly from Gaza from the time of pharaoh Psammetichus (c. 600) with inscription reading "Anat, lady of heaven". Leclant (1975a:257, n37; cf. Day 1999:39) had already raised doubts about the authenticity of this item.

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4 Seeden (1980:148n141) observed that the image is misconceived as it is impossible to hurl a spear from this position and that the weapons are merely divine symbols.

5 Compare Cornelius (1994:Fig. 31a) and Keserty (in Leibovitch 1948).

6 Cf. Cornelius (1994:76, Fig. 16). This item could not be traced. Wyatt (1984:328) said it was from Ugarit, but this could not be substantiated (cf. also Walls 1992:83n5). Kapelrud (1969:48, 105) and Pope (1952:133-134 and also in Pope & Röllig 1965:241) seemed very excited about this item as reflecting her description in the Ugaritic myths. Pope reflected on the "trim goddess with a benign smile" and for Kapelrud "The different sides of her character are thus well indicated on the stela" (!). Barnett (1969:409) described her as "unmistakably pregnant" (!) and recently, Walls (1992:83n5) remarked on the "slightly protuberant belly, suggestive of pregnancy". According to Leick (1991:Fig. 1) there is a combination of the warrior (weapons) and femininity (tight robe).

2.1.2 The menacing standing goddess (Cat 1.1a-1.6)

Van Sicelen (1991) reconstructed the relief fragments discovered at Saqqarah to represent *Astarte* as a menacing goddess (**Cat 1.1a**). The reconstruction in Martin (1979:Pl. 41) already makes it clear that this is a menacing goddess with *atef* crown. The question is whether this is Anat (cf. **Cat 1.1**) as Martin had it, or perhaps Astarte. The remains of the hieroglyphic signs in Martin Pl. 41:a show the title *nbt pt* ("lady of heaven"), which occurs with various goddesses (3.4). Part of the hieroglyphic signs *ʿ, z* and *ṯ* is reconstructed as *ʿ-z-ṯ-r-t* ("Astarte"), following van Sicelen (1991:133 and cf. for the hieroglyphs 3.4.2).

The weapon which is being used for the menacing gesture is unclear; the shield held in front is of the curved type, but it is unclear whether there is a spear (cf. Astarte **Cat 1.10** and for Reshep Cornelius 1994:Pls. 1, 6 and 3-4, 8, 10, 15). The crown is the *atef* with sundisk and horns and behind the figure is the sun-shade, which was a symbol of protection (3.3.2).

An anonymous goddess with a similar crown standing with a weapon held in a menacing way (the other arm is not visible) occurs on an Egyptian stela of unknown origin (**Cat 1.2**). Stadelmann (1967:95) took the figure to be Anat because of the Ramses II cartouche, but it could also be Ramses III or one of the other Ramseses, even the later Kushite pharaoh Piye, who used the throne name *wsr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ* (von Beckerath 1999:154-55, 166ff., 206-207). Ramses II is also shown with Astarte (**Cat 1.1a, 3.6**). Stewart (1976:8) was more careful and identified the figure with either Anat or Astarte. Both goddesses are "like shields" in Egyptian texts (Pritchard 1969a:250).

Comparable examples of a menacing goddess with identifying inscriptions are:

- the menacing seated Anat (**Cat 1.1**)
- the menacing standing Astarte (**Cat 1.1a**)
- the menacing Astarte on horseback (**Cat 4.1-4.2, 4.4a**).

Here is too little space for a horse because of the cartouche (Stewart 1976:8), so a comparison with the *equestrian* Astarte is excluded. The *atef* crown (here with a ribbon) was used for both Anat (**Cat 1.1, 1.7, 2.1, 3.1, 3.8**) and Astarte (**Cat 1.1a, 1.10, 3.4-6, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4**) (cf. Cornelius 2000:76 and the later images of Anat = **Figs. 11** and **19**) and so does not help much in the identification. When compared with **Cat 1.1a**, Astarte seems a good guess but nothing more. Both Anat and Astarte were armed deities.

A standing menacing figure with an empty hand, with *atef* crown (with uraeus) and bow and arrows in the other hand, occurs on a Persian relief from Hibis (Leclant 1960:Fig. 28 = **Fig. 5**). This can also be either Anat or Astarte,

although other depictions of an armed figure on the same relief are identified by the hieroglyphs as “Astarte” (**Fig. 10** discussed under 2.1.3 below).

Cat 1.3 is quite interesting. The seated pharaoh is shooting with his bow at animals, while he is supported by a striding menacing deity holding a weapon in the other hand. Presumably this is a goddess[7] of the Anat or Astarte type because of the *atef* crown. In this scene the goddess is supporting the pharaoh in the hunt.[8] When compared with **Cat 1.1**, Anat seems the best proposal (so Keel 1981:206-207), but because the figure is standing, Astarte (**Cat 1.1a**) is another possibility.[9]

The next group of sources relevant to this iconographic type are the enigmatic *bronzes*[10]. The problems are fourfold:

- Are they female or male?
- Dating?
- Are they goddesses?
- If a goddess, which goddess is depicted?

The first step was to select *female* figurines. There are about 150 menacing male figures (Lipiński 1996:258; cf. Seeden 1980:Pls. 94-101, 104-116), but only about ten female menacing figures (Seeden 1980:Pls. 102-103). In this case Seeden No. 1718 is problematic. Roeder (1956:36) argued that the inlaid part in the front originally had a penis, but a similar inlay is found on the back (Seeden 1980:108). The figure wears a long dress, but the breasts are not visible. The same is true of Seeden No. 1727, the sex of the figure could not be determined, although it seems that the figure wears a long dress which might indicate that it is female. Barnett (1978:31* with Pl. I; cf. Falsone 1986:73-74) argued that the bronze Louvre AO 3932 (Seeden 1980:No. 1791) is also female and that it is much earlier than the Persian Period in which it is usually dated.

Cat 1.5 is taken to be female (Seeden 1980:109), although Parrot (1975:70) described it as a Reshep figure (cf. Cornelius 1994:128) as he did with Louvre AO 20160 (Parrot 1961:46-47, Fig. 19; Seeden 1980:No. 1724). The famous Louvre chariot group (**Cat 1.6**) Collon (1976:79) identified as

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[7] Marked by the sign X to indicate a goddess, according to Keel (1981:207 and Keel *et al.* 1990:166n117).

[8] On the motif of the bow and the context of hunting cf. Keel *et al.* (1990:27ff.).

[9] Keel *et al.* (1990:274-276, Fig. 49) referred to other cylinder seals published by Buchanan (1966:No. 1008) – on the right is a menacing figure.

[10] Cf. Collon (1972); Falsone (1986); Fitzgerald (1989); Lewis (1996a:416ff.); Moorey & Fleming (1984); Muhly (1980); Negbi (1976); Seeden (1980, a second monograph is in preparation, cf. inter alia 1982). Lipiński (1996:258) criticised my study on Baal and Reshep for not making enough of the bronzes as sources, but the identification (Seeden 1980:148ff. and Moorey & Fleming 1984:78ff.) remains the main problem.

being male, but these were taken to be feminine (cf. Seeden 1980:109) because of the shapely hips.[11]

The biggest problem with the bronzes is the dating and this is a flaw in the collection of Negbi (Moorey & Fleming 1984; Seger 1983). So far only one archaeologically *dated* bronze of the type under discussion has been unearthed and that is **Cat 1.4**, comparable to **Cat 1.5**. **Cat 1.5** is dated in the 2nd millennium because the headdress with horns is different to the items which Falsone (1986) placed in the Phoenician period.[12] The chariot group **Cat 1.6** is dated by Collon (1976:81) in the 14th-13th centuries,[13] although Littauer & Crouwel (1979:145) opted for a later Achaemenid date for the chariot.

One of the criteria in determining whether a figure is a *deity* or not is the horned headdress (Cornelius 1994:15). The bronze figurines Seeden Nos. 1722-1726 correspond to this criterion, showing the *atef* crown, smaller horns folding to the front, three-horned headdress and *atef* crown with horns. The item **Cat 1.6** even has the much smaller charioteer with horns folded to the front. In addition, mention should be made of a naked figure standing on lions, which might indicate that this is a deity (Seeden 1980:No. 1741; Winter 1987:Fig. 208). The right hand is in a menacing pose, but without any weapon.[14]

Determining which *goddess* is involved is much more difficult. Identifying inscriptions occur on *no* Syro-Palestinian bronzes (Moorey & Fleming 1984:79). Exceptions are the seated “Astarte” of Seville (Bonnet 1996:Pl. X) and the Egyptian Saite statue of the god Reshep (Cornelius 1994:132-133 with Pl. C). To date, *no menacing* bronze figurine with the name of the deity has been found. There were *more* types than only the male

[11] Excluded are Seeden Nos. 1681-1682 which are too badly preserved, and the enigmatic No. 1741 which shows nipples, but no breasts (cf. Cornelius 1994:129 and 231-232, there still taken to be female).

[12] Excluded were items where dating is a real problem such as Seeden Nos. 1721-1722, 1724 and the item published by Barnett (1969 with Pl. VIII), following Falsone (1986). Seeden No. 1721 was found at Dan, but in the fields, so no find-context is available. Winter (1987:Figs. 210-211) dated Seeden Nos. 1721-1722 “2. Hälfte 2. Jt.v.Chr.”, but Falsone (1986:68) has argued on typological grounds for a Phoenician date for the Qalat Faqra item (Seeden 1980:No. 1722) because of the dress and the crown. The two items with three-horned headdress (Seeden 1980:Nos. 1724 and 1726) are also difficult to date, but when we follow Falsone (1986:70) that the central free-standing horn is typical of the IA, an LB date is excluded (cf. Moorey & Fleming 1984:75 and Uehlinger 1997:112-113).

[13] This view was repeated in a letter from Collon (12/4/96).

[14] There are only *few* bronzes standing on *animals*, this one and a male figure on a bull (Seeden 1980:No. 196); cf. also the naked woman with child on a lion and the menacing naked woman on two lions (Winter 1987:Figs. 59, 208).

smiting (menacing) Baal (as in Negbi 1976:18), and Reshep (Schulman 1992; cf. Cornelius 1994) is another possibility. The same is true of the menacing female; Anat (so Negbi 1976:85) was not the only menacing goddess.

Three bronzes of menacing goddess are included in the catalogue: **Cat 1.4-1.6**. **Cat 1.4** and **1.5** are very similar, with the hands in a menacing gesture, but empty (there are holes in both their menacing and other hands). **Cat 1.4** has the Egyptian *atef* crown; on **Cat 1.5** it is of the Western Asiatic curved type set on the helmet on her head. **Cat 1.6** shows two figures standing in a chariot. The larger figure has the *atef* crown with horns and a sundisk lifted in a menacing gesture but without any weapon. Next to it is a charioteer with a quiver and damaged crown with horns. The one hand is stretched out as if to hold the reins of horses pulling a chariot.

The *menacing* gesture occurs on the items identified by inscriptions as Anat (**Cat 1.1**), but also as Astarte (**Cat 1.1a**, **4.1**, **4.2, 4.4-4a**). All these items wear the *atef* crown (excluding **Cat 4.4a** with a white crown), so as far as the crown is concerned, the identification for **Cat 1.4-1.6** can apply to both goddesses. For **Cat 1.6** Barnett (1964a:72) earlier proposed Reshep, but later he (1969:410) identified the larger figure with Anat[15] (followed by Wyatt 1984:332). In the case of **Cat 1.6** no clear identification is possible, but *Astarte* seems to be the better of the two options because of the strong(er) link between horses and chariots and this goddess (cf. 2.4).

Comparable items for **Cat 1.4-1.5** from later periods are menacing and heavily armed figures (Seeden 1980:Nos. 1722 and 1724 = **Figs. 6-7**).

2.1.3 The armed standing goddess (Cat 1.7-1.10)

A different type of armed goddess occurs in the catalogue items where the weapons are not brandished in a menacing ("smiting") way, but held in front of the figure.

Cat 1.7 on an *in situ* column of Meren-Ptah from Heliopolis shows Anat (inscription) with *atef* crown and horns with a streamer and holding a fenestrated battle axe, while the other hand holds an *ankh*.

On the Memphis stela **Cat 1.8** from the temple of Ptah the goddess Astarte (inscription) stands next to the god Ptah. Although there is no inscription mentioning the devotee nor is anyone depicted, it might have contained the devotee on the lost register below as on another stela from Memphis (Petrie 1909:7, Pl. XVI [No. 46] = Royal Scottish Museum Edinburgh 1908.361 [*PM* II:833]) where Thotmoses I offers to Ptah and Sekhmet.

15 "It must represent ^{c}Anath in her capacity of goddess of chariotry" (1969:410).

The relief is damaged and her face and crown are not clear (looks like the Hathor naos). In front she holds a weapon with part of what might be a curved shield (cf. **Cat 1.1a**). The god Reshep is shown standing holding similar weapons (Cornelius 1994:Pls. 1, 6).

Cat 1.9 is dated in LB with Yon (1991:293). There has been disagreement about whether the figure with the winged dress (with the upper part of the body lost) on the stela from west of the Baal temple at Ugarit (Yon 1991:322, Fig. 2 = p.t. 1151) holding a spear is a goddess. Börker-Klähn (1982:240) is very sceptical. However, no mortal woman holding a spear is known, whereas winged and armed goddesses are an old motif (Barrelet 1955). If this is a goddess, what is her name? Caquot & Sznycer (1980:13) said that it is "clearly Anat". In the texts from Ugarit Anat is described as *winged*[16] (cf. also **Cat 2.2**) and this is usually the main reason for the Anat identification.[17] In addition, her martial activities as the "Violent Goddess" (Kapelrud 1969) as described in the mythical texts from Ugarit are added.[18]

However, other arguments suggest that this identification is not so obvious:

- The wings are in this case only part of the *dress*.[19]
- The descriptions of Anat in the Ugaritic texts are so varied[20] and the *relationship between the texts and the iconography* too complex (cf. 1.3) to make such an easy link.

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16 Cf. Fensham (1966:159); Korpel (1990:544ff.); Pope (1971:400ff. [he also identifies the bird on the mug in Cornelius 1994:Fig. 55 as Anat], and Wyatt (1992:418: "dove" of "Baal" [*ymmt limm*] in *CAT* 1.3:II:33). Cf. *CAT* 1.10:II:10-11, 1.108:8-9. In the Aqhat text, Anat attacks him in the form of a bird (*CAT* 1.18:IV:21ff.). Anat is also winged in the Hittite myth of Elkunirsa and Ashertu (Hoffner 1998:91).

17 E.g. Pritchard (1969:307); Yon (1991:292); Niehr (1994:420, 426, 1998:33); Wyatt (1992:419, 2002:286n160, 397n15).

18 Famous is the bloody battle scene in *CAT* 1.3:II (cf. Smith 1995 and Lloyd 1996). She urges Baal to destroy Yam (*CAT* 1.2:IV:28-29) and claims to have conquered Yam and other adversaries (*CAT* 1.3:III:38-47). Anat is described when she splits Mot with her sword (*CAT* 1.6:II:30-31). She warns Ilu what she would do to him (*CAT* 1.3:V:1-3 and 22-25) and her ferociousness is admitted by the old man (lines 27-29). In *CAT* 1.22:I:10-11 she hunts birds using a club and bow. Anat the warrior and hunter has her eye on the bow of Aqhat (*CAT* 1.17:VI, 1.18). She is powerful and a goddess of warlike-strenght (*CAT* 1.108:6; cf. Pardee 1999:318). Pughat (resembling Anat) conceals weapons (*CAT* 1.19:IV:44-46).

19 Frankfort (1996:244) proposed the Egyptian goddesses Mut or Nut because of the *wings*, but this is no Egyptian goddess. Cf. the winged dresses of an Egyptian goddess (Pritchard 1969:No. 422) and of queen Tiye (Yon 1991:Fig. 9d).

20 She also makes music (*CAT* 1.101:V:15ff.). In *CAT* 1.108 she is described as powerful and a mistress of kingship and dominion. *CAT* 1.96 is no longer connected with her (Lewis 1996 and Wyatt 2002:375) but still retained by Smith (in Parker 1997:224ff.).

- Many *goddesses* were described and depicted as winged (Barrelet 1955).
- With regard to the *find spot* near the temple of Baal, Astarte or any goddess related to Baal might also be possible candidates.

Astarte is another possibility; she is also a "warrior" in the Egyptian (Stadelmann 1967:101ff.) and Ugaritic texts[21] and also depicted with weapons (**Cat 1.1a, 1.8** and **1.10**). An identification with a specific goddess is too difficult.[22]

Cat 1.10 has been much discussed in earlier studies, especially because it contains an inscription with the name of Astarte. However, Weippert (1988:308) emphasised the fact that on this cylinder seal from Beitin *two* deities are depicted, both holding spears in symmetrical juxtaposition to the inscription. The problem is: why is there only *one* inscription ("Astarte") when two deities are depicted? This leaves the possibility that this is a *triad* and that the female warrior is not automatically to be identified as Astarte (cf. also Keel & Uehlinger 1998:98n49). When one looks at the iconography there is a figure in a long dress with an *atef* crown with streamers (compare Anat **Cat 1.7,** and uninscribed **Cat 1.2** and **3.2**) holding a spear. As stated earlier, the *atef* crown was used for both Anat and Astarte. **Cat 1.1a** and **1.8** (Astarte) carries a shield and what looks like a spear, but so does the seated menacing Anat on **Cat 1.1**. The headless winged figure **Cat 1.9** carries a spear, but this does not help any further to identify the figure on **Cat 1.10**. Both Anat and Astarte would be possibilities. The seal was possibly devoted to Astarte (inscription!) and a male and female deity is depicted. Cornelius (1994:173) described the menacing god as *Baal*. An identification with a pharaoh is less likely because of the horns on the headdress and the fact that the smiting king is usually depicted with an enemy. The male figure is a mirror image of the female figure. Anat is strongly associated with Baal in the Ugaritic myths, but it is not known if the situation in Ugarit can be applied to what was the case in Palestine.[23] The identification with *Astarte* is retained because of the inscription.

The texts which supposedly described her and Baal's passions (*CAT* 1.10, 11, 13) have been properly "deconstructed" by Walls (1992) and Day (1992).

[21] "Astarte-name-of-Baal" is envoked to smash the skull of Yam and Yassib (*CAT* 1.2:II:7-8 and 1.16:VI:54-58) and she urges Baal to smite Yam (CAT 1.2:IV:28-30). Astarte is a huntress in *CAT* 1.92. Anat and Astarte seem to function as "mistresses of the hunt" in the enigmatic *CAT* 1.114:23-24.

[22] Cf. the winged figure armed with two spears on the cylinder seal from ed-Dab^{c}a which Williams-Forte (1993:186-187, 189 with Fig. 4) identified as possibly Anat.

[23] Pettey (1990:182) even proposed Asherah because of the confusion between Asherah and Astarte in the Hebrew Bible, but Asherah is no armed goddess.

Items which are comparable are the figure on a fragmented silver vase (19th dyn.?) from Bubastis (Zaqaziq), a figure with feathered headdress with pigtail and uraeus holding a shield and spear as on **Cat 1.1** with an *ankh* in the other hand, and with a worshipper in front of her (Bryan 1996:71, Fig. 16 = **Fig. 8**). The deity might be some foreign goddess like Anat or Astarte. Interesting is also the bronze Seeden (1980:No. 1719 = **Fig. 9**), a female figure with high *atef* crown in a long dress holding a small shield. This might be Anat (Bowman 1978:244), but just as likely Astarte.

From the later periods there are figures from the Persian period temple at Kharge (Cornelius 1994:74, Fig. 11 = **Fig. 10**) with bow and arrows. The figures wear the red crown and are identified by the texts as "Astarte".

2.2 *The seated goddess* (Cat 2.1-2.7)

In this category attention is devoted to images of a goddess who is not seated and armed (**Cat 1.1**), but seated peacefully.[24] Unfortunately, only one example (**Cat 2.1**) of a seated figure with identifying inscription is known, depicting Anat next to her great devotee, pharaoh Ramses II from the temple at Tanis. The crown is as expected the *atef* and the dress the long one (as with **Cat 1.1** and **1.7**). The goddess has no sceptre as her hand is resting on the shoulder of Ramses. The inscription (cf. Kitchen 2000:413-414) describes her caring for Ramses.

The head of pink granite in Bristol (H798: Grinsell 1972:50-51, Fig. 28; cf. van Sicelen 1991:134n9 = **Pl. A**) from Bubastis might have formed part of a dyaed of Anat paired with Ramses II because of the popularity of this goddess with Ramses II (Bowman 1978:225ff.), but Astarte also wears the same crown and is also shown with Ramses II (**Cat 1.1a**, **3.6**) and is another possible candidate.

Later depictions from Egypt also depict the unarmed enthroned Anat: on an inscribed Graeco-Roman stela with Mut and Khonsu (Blok 1930:Pl. III = **Fig. 11**).[25] She wears an *atef* crown and holds a pluriform sceptre, and has a naked breast. *Astarte* is also shown on a relief from el-Tod, holding a similar sceptre (Grenier 1985:Pl. I = **Fig. 12**; *PM* V:168; Helck 1971a:458n116), but here she wears the Hathor headdress. On the Yehawmelek stela the goddess with Hathor headdress holds her hand in a gesture of blessing (Bonnet 1996:25-26, Pl. II; Pritchard 1969:No. 477; Winter 1987:Fig. 485 = **Fig. 13**).[26]

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[24] Cf. Negbi (1976:90ff.): "enthroned female deities"; Seeden (1982:117): "seated goddess in the attitude of blessing" and in general on this type of goddess Winter (1987:444ff.).

[25] Cf. Bowman (1978:239-240) and Eaton (1969:113, 140).

[26] Compare Montet (1928:35, Fig. 6). It is unclear if there is a seated goddess (Stadelmann 1967:96 n5 has Anat) on the untraceable defaced rock stela of Mesra'ah (Eisenlohr 1892:370). All attempts to find a photograph of this item failed!

A damaged figure on a sphinx throne contains the name of Astarte (Metzger 1985:No. 1200; text in Bonnet 1996:160:E16 and *KAI* 17).[27]

The only identifiable bronze is the seated blessing figure in Seville with the inscription dedicated to "Astarte" (Amadasi Guozzo 1993; Gubel 1999:62; Bonnet 1996:127, Pl. X). A bronze female with problematic dating (Negbi 1976:No. 1644; Pritchard 1969:No. 466; Winter 1987:447-478, Fig. 393 = **Fig. 14**) is excluded, although she also holds one hand in a gesture of blessing.

A winged female figure with headdress not of the *atef* type, but in this case a horned[28] helmet with a knob, is seated on a bull and holding a lion on the well-known – often depicted and much discussed – cylinder seal **Cat 2.2** from Ugarit. It is usually connected with Anat (e.g. Caquot & Sznycer 1980:27; Niehr 1998:3; Weippert 1988:308) because of the wings, which are an attribute of Anat in the texts from Ugarit (cf. 2.1).

Winter compared this item with a cylinder seal from Boetia (1987:454-455 Fig. 497 = **Fig. 15**), where a seated figure (with similar crown) is grappling with a *Mischwesen*. On the left is an image of a woman holding horned animals and standing on winged beings. He drew attention to the fact that there might be two *generations* of deities on the seal from Ugarit.

In the Ugaritic texts there are different types of deities – what Handy (1994) called the authorities (Ilu and Asherah), the active ones (Baal, Anat, Astarte, Reshep), the artisans (Kothar-wachasis) and the messengers. Welten made a distinction between the iconographic types of the seated-ruling "El-type" and the standing-active "Baal-type" (1977:101ff.) and Uehlinger (1991:880) drew attention to the fact that deities as rulers of cities are shown seated (e.g. Baal and Astarte of Tyre). Asherah (as the seated-ruling type) could not be ruled out as a possibility, but the question is if the relationships represented by the texts could just be made applicable to the images (cf. Niehr 1998:28). Knauf (1994:245) described the figure as "Ascherah als Himmelsgöttin". Recently Brody (1998:29) argued for Asherah on the basis of her link with the lion (but already rejected by Wiggins 1991).

Cat 1.1 from Egypt shows a *seated* Anat (who was of the second "active" type) and breaks the pattern, and Reshep (who does not play an important role in the Ugaritic myths) is also depicted as *seated* (Cornelius 1994:Pls. 16-19) on items of mainly Egyptian origin. **Cat 1.1** is unique and its

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[27] Excluded from the catalogue is the Cairo bronze CG 38.948 (Daressy 1906:240, Pl. XLVIII – connected with Nekhbet). A seated figure with *atef* crown is depicted and can represent both Anat or Astarte (cf. Leclant 1975b:507n55). The forearms are broken away and there are no attributes visible.

[28] Anat is horned in the Ugaritic corpus (*CAT* 1.10:II:20ff. with Sanmartin 1980), but this is generally true of all ANE deities.

significance should not be over-exaggerated. The same is true of the wings: Anat is described as a winged deity, but **Cat 2.2** could not be identified with Anat just on the basis of the wings (cf. reservations above under **Cat 1.9**). The situation is much more complex.

To identify the figure on **Cat 2.2** seems impossible. In the past an identification with Anat because of her wings described in the texts was too easy and other possibilities have to be kept open – perhaps an identification with Asherah? On the cylinder seal the goddess is enthroned and holds animals and is thus of the iconographic type "mistress of the animals" (cf. **Cat 2.7**). The naked (without wings) figure standing next to the seated figure on the lions flanked by two other figures is identified by Gese (1970:159) and Galling (1977:115) as Astarte. The nakedness and stance of the figure on the lions rather remind one of the items discussed under 2.5, but the fact that the arms are hanging down makes any identification with these figures difficult.

A seated female figure in a long dress with a long hairlock and rounded cap, holding a bird-staff and the other hand making a gesture of blessing, is facing a male menacing deity (**Cat 2.3** – reconstructed scene by Kantor in McEwan 1958:Pl. 73:XLIV = **Fig. 16**).[29] The deities are, according to Keel & Uehlinger (1996:126-127), the weather god (i.e. Baal) and his consort (i.e. Anat). The male god has earlier been identified as Baal (Cornelius 1994:170).[30] The goddess does not resemble the "warrior"-like Anat and one wonders why no-one has considered Asherah. One would expect the ruling goddess of Ugarit to be the one doing the blessing.[31]

This brings us to other depictions of seated goddesses.[32] Two bronzes **Cat 2.4-2.5** from Ugarit (both taken to be female – note the breasts, slender bodies and the Isis-girdle of **2.5** – and dated LB[33]) have no definite seat or throne, but the figures are set on tangs (**Cat 2.5** on the buttocks). Both are barefooted and dressed in long skirts; **Cat 2.4** wears a cloak with "rolled borders" (cf. 3.3.1) and shows her breasts. **Cat 2.5** wears an *atef* crown and

[29] This type of standard with a bird is known from Nuzi as well (Kantor 1958:78) and cf. **Fig. 20** below. There is a bird flying between the two deities according to Keel & Uehlinger (1996:126).

[30] Compare the seal from Cyprus (Cornelius 1994:180, Fig. 41), where a similar goddess is perhaps faced by her consort, the menacing god on a bull.

[31] Without using the Ugaritic texts as point of departure to identify the figures, one can refer to the grand throne made for Asherah (*CAT* 1.4:I:30-35) and cf. *CAT* 1.4:II:12ff., where she meets Baal.

[32] For "peaceful bronzes" cf. Seeden (1982).

[33] **Cat 2.4** is dated MB or LB (cf. Negbi 1976:92n30), the younger dating is followed.

Cat 2.4 more a kind of turban.[34] On **Cat 2.5** the one hand is blessing and the other one is empty (once held a staff?). **Cat 2.4** perhaps also held a staff or sceptre and the other hand is open as if she is receiving something. The blessing gesture (Seeden 1982:119) was seen on **Cat 2.3** (**Fig**. **16**) and is well-known for the seated god (Keel 1996:Figs. 283-284 = **Figs. 17-18**), usually identified as Ilu[35] the head of the Ugaritic pantheon and presumed consort of Asherah[36]. A bronze figurine from Ugarit shows him with a similar cloak, *atef* crown and making a blessing gesture (Yon 1991:Fig. 17a). A seated figure on an Ugaritic stela (Yon 1991:305-307, Figs. 7:10, 16a) wears a horned *atef* crown and makes a blessing gesture.[37] The right hand of **Cat 2.4** is empty, but perhaps the hand held a kind of bowl as with a seated male god on the mug from Ugarit (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 55)[38] or with a (Middle Bronze?) standing bronze goddess of unknown provenance.[39]

Finding clearly identifiable representations of the goddess Asherah has been like looking for a needle in a haystack. This is because there is not one visual representation (not from Egypt because she was not worshipped there like Anat and Astarte) with her name on it.[40] Needless to say, the same is true of Ilu (the only exception being the "Job stela", cf. Cornelius 1994:Fig. 34). One would expect a senior seated lady dressed in a long robe blessing the gods and people. The closest we can get to this type of figure are the bronzes **Cat 2.4** and **2.5**. Leick (1991:Fig. 33) described the figure **Cat 2.4** as slim and youthful and even saw a serpent crawling around the neck (but which is in fact a rolled border), so missed the whole point.[41] Korpel (2001:131-132) talked of clothing worn by aged people and took **Cat 2.4** to be "probably depicting the

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[34] Because the figurine has no *horned* crown, Frankfort (1996:259) argued that this is not a goddess, but Parrot (1961:83) argued that it could have been a divine crown because the bronze was covered in precious metal.

[35] Niehr (1992 and 1998:32) interpreted the stela (**Fig. 18**) as representing *Baal* because of the supposed sign of the weather god in his hand.

[36] However, no text states this clearly; *CAT* 1.23 is too problematic.

[37] Cf. also the Hecht relief published by Merhav (1985:Pl. I:2 and 1994:Pl.1). No seated figure of Ilu with accompanying inscription is known; the only example of a seated deity from Palestine with a name is the stela of Mekal from Beisan (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 1).

[38] If we follow Niehr the object held on **Fig. 18** is not a bowl (contra Pope 1971) but the sign of the weather-god.

[39] Merhav & Ornan (1979:Fig. 7); Negbi (1976:No. 1631); Spycket (1981:No. 187) and Winter (1987:Fig. 449). Cf. also earlier cylinder seals and impressions (Merhav 1985:Figs. 5a, 6b).

[40] Although Herrmann (1999:93) speculated that the name on the Abu Simbel stela (**Cat 3.5**) might be read as *Ašerat*, this should be read as *Astarte* (3.4.2); Asherah played no role in Egypt.

[41] Perhaps she got it from Pritchard (1969:305)?

goddess Asherah".[42] This seems a better option than Anat (Bienkowski & Millard 2000:17).[43]

In his study of the seated figure with the lyre on the enigmatic Kuntillet Ajrud material and the possible relationship with the goddess Asherah, Dever (1984:23) referred to two plaque pendants from Ugarit (**Cat 2.6a-b**). In both cases the female figures with wigs and long dresses are seated and holding plants. Dever spoke of the "Great Goddess", but whether these are goddesses (cf. Winter 1987:448) and to be identified with Asherah is uncertain.[44] However, as the figures are holding plants, they might be of a divine nature. The goddess with plants bring us to the next, very exotic item.

One of the masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern ivory is the presentation on a lid from the harbour of Ugarit at Minet el-Beida (**Cat 2.7**). It has been nicknamed *Potnia Theron* ("mistress of the animals")[45], but this is not exactly apt as the figure is *feeding* the animals (cf. Metzger 1983:58). No detailed discussion of the style and artistic connections with the Aegean will be undertaken (cf. Metzger 1983:54ff. for detailed discussion and comparisons of individual motifs, esp. mountains and vegetation). In spite of the Aegean elements the item is of local production (Gachet 1992:69) and most scholars agree that the seated (on a mountain it seems) topless figure with elaborate coiffure and diadem represents a *local* deity. The woman is feeding two goats, which reflects something of her function in the local religious system.[46]

Astarte used to be a popular earlier identification (e.g. Pope 1965:251; Hrouda in *RlA* III:492-493). Some connected this figure with "Qedeshet" and described it as the development of this type and the Syrian "stripping" goddess (e.g. Helck 1971:218). Pritchard (1943:35) included it under his Qudshu types, but the image is not exactly comparable (see discussion under 2.5). Day included this item in her article on Anat as the "mistress of the animals"

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[42] Korpel (2001:131n11) even brought the bare breasts in connection with texts mentioning her as a nurse (*CAT* 1.15 – cf. below on this text). Negbi (1976:43) compared **Cat 2.4** with a standing deity (goddess?) (Negbi No. 1431 and Fig. 52) as a possible pair. Parrot (1961:84) proposed Asherah or Astarte because it comes from Ugarit.

[43] Pfeiffer (1962:31) identified **Cat 2.5** with Anat. Two miniature bronzes from Beisan (Rowe 1940:81, Pl. XXXV:9-10) might be a divine pair (Uehlinger 1991:881). The male is seated (Ilu?) and the female holds her hand in a gesture of blessing (Asherah?).

[44] Cf. discussion of the Kuntillet Ajrud material in Frevel (1995:876-880) and Hadley (2000:144ff.).

[45] Cf. le Lasseur (1919:176-184); *LIMC* VIII/1 with *LIMC* VIII/2:Pls. 677-678 and Marinatos (2000); Cornelius in *IDD* (forthcoming) and the literature cited by Schäfer-Lichtenberger (2000:86).

[46] However, Helck (1971:167n42) rejected any religious connotation: "… keine religiöse Aussagekraft".

(1992:187-188) who destroys and protects the animals in the Ugaritic texts. “Qedeshet” also holds animals as the “mistress of the animals” (Cornelius 1993; cf. 2.5), but does not *feed* them. Gese (1970:154) argued this is Asherah or Astarte, but chose Asherah because of her supposed relationship with “Qedeshet”. If any local goddess is represented by the ivory **Cat 2.7**, the goddess *Asherah* might be a possible candidate (cf. Cornelius 1993:33 and recently Niehr 1998:29; further under 4.5).[47]

2.3 *The standing goddess* (Cat 3.1-3.13)

The next category includes items depicting a female figure, not seated (2.2) and not armed (2.1), but merely standing, sometimes holding a staff or sceptre.

The Beisan stela **Cat 3.1** is typically Egyptian and inscribed with a votive inscription dedicated to the goddess “Anat”. The goddess wears an Egyptian *atef* crown and in her one hand she holds an *ankh*. The sceptre is usually described as the Egyptian *was* type and depicted in this way (e.g. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 108). The stela is, however, badly weathered and closer examination in the Rockefeller Museum showed that the sceptre is not easily identifiable. It can be the expected *was* sceptre (**Cat 3.4** for Astarte) or perhaps a pluriform type one, which is known from a stela devoted to Astarte (e.g. **Cat 3.5**).

The uninscribed stela **Cat 3.2** (the dividing lines are there, but unfortunately no hieroglyphs) Rowe (Stadelmann 1967:106) connected with Astarte because of the mention of her temple in I Sam 31:10 and Delcor (1986:1083) because of the horns (cf. below with **Fig. 23**) and Gen 14:5 (Astarte-Qarnayim). This item is mostly compared with the inscribed (“Anat”) stela **Cat 3.1** as representing Anat (e.g. Weippert 1988:306-307 with Fig. 3.53(1); Wimmer 1994:39 and Wyatt 1984:331) and in the same vein with the metal pendant **Cat 3.10,** all from Beisan. It is interesting that **Cat 3.10** is naked, whereas the figures of **Cat 3.1** and **Cat 3.2** are dressed.

The standing figure of **Cat 3.2** wears an *atef* crown with large horns and ribbon, a long flowing dress and pluriform sceptre. Even if the unclear sceptre on **Cat 3.1** is of the *pluriform* type, a clear identification with Anat is not so certain. The goddess Astarte also carries the *was* **and** pluriform sceptres on inscribed stelae identifying her (**Cat 3.4, 3.5**), nor is the *atef* crown typical of Anat, as already observed. Both Anat and Astarte are possible candidates for stela **Cat 3.2**, with Anat the stronger possibility because of the role of Anat at Beisan (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:97; Zwickel 1994:183).

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[47] If the motif is related to “Asherah” and the ibexes nibbling on a tree is another question which will not be addressed here (cf. recent discussion in Hadley 2000:195ff. and Wiggins 2001).

Even more difficult is the identification of the figures of the divine couple on the Balu^{c}a-stela from Jordan (**Cat 3.3**); unfortunately the inscription is unreadable. The figure on the left is a god (Cornelius 1994:144) and the figure in the centre a worshipper. The woman on the right has the *atef* crown and an *ankh*, and is therefore a goddess, but there is nothing specific enough to identify the goddess. Because of the crown she can be either Anat or Astarte, rather than Hathor (contra Zayadine 1986:93 and 1987:118). If the male deity is the Moabite Kemosh, one would expect his to be his consort. If this is the local Astarte-Kemosh as on the later Mesha stela (van Zyl 1960:196) is uncertain because the name can be read male or female (Mattingly 1989:219-221).

Cat 3.4 from the quarries at Tura is presumably lost.[48] On the drawing in Vyse (1842:95) we see a woman with *atef* crown, *was* sceptre and *ankh* in her hand, standing together with other deities of the Egyptian pantheon at Memphis. **Cat 3.5** from the south at Abu Simbel[49] adds nothing new to the iconography of Astarte. It is a typical standing Egyptian-style goddess with *atef* crown, *ankh* and pluriform sceptre, but luckily inscribed with the name *Astarte*.[50] Astarte was thus worshipped from the north to the south of Egypt. Astarte on **Cat 3.6** wears the *atef*, but the top of the sceptre (spear?) is gone. It shows that not only Anat was popular with Ramses II.

Cat 3.7 and **3.8** are all Anat figures with dedications by that Anat-phile, Ramses II. The first one shows a headless striding statue holding the king by the hand; the second one (a relief) is also damaged, with only the head with *atef* crown remaining. These items are important because of the name of the goddess, but unfortunately the figures are too stereotyped to inform us about the specific iconography of Anat.

Comparable items from later periods in the Egyptian style are the depiction of the standing *Anat* with lionskin, pluriform sceptre and *atef* crown in the Roman temple at Denderah (Lanzone 1885:Pl. XLIIIb[51] = **Fig. 19**). Another Bubastis figure (Bryan 1996:70-71, Fig. 16 = **Fig. 20**) shows a goddess with flat-topped headdress with plumes and plants and a papyrus

48 Letter from R. Stadelmann: “Ich habe vor vier Jahren mit einer Sondernehmigung versucht, diese und andere Inschriften dort zu finden, jedoch ohne Erfolg … Vielleicht sind die Inschriften und Stelen auf immer verloren” (27/2/1996).

49 No decent photograph is available in the published literature. During September 1996 I was able to visit the site and take the photograph included in this study.

50 Hermann (1999:93) read “Asherah”, but this is impossible as Asherah was not known in Egypt (cf. 3.4.2.)

51 *PM* VI:83; Chassinat (1952:25, Pl. CCCXL); Helck (1971a:463); Stadelmann (1967:95n2).

sceptre with a bird perched on it. The inscription mentions the war goddess Neith, but Bryan argued that this is perhaps Anat (1996:70).

A standing figure with horned headdress and sundisk (which makes it a goddess) on a stela (**Cat 3.8a**) was published by Merhav (1994). She wears a long dress, holds her hands in a gesture of blessing and is framed by plants (as on some of the items discussed under 2.5). Merhav (1994:38*) argued: "It is tempting, however, to suppose that the Hecht stela might depict Asherah …". But whether this is the Asherah who is blessing is uncertain.

Another bronze (**Cat 3.9**) from Ugarit of the "standing goddess in the attitude of blessing-type" (Seeden 1982:118) has a cloak similar to the seated **Cat 2.4**. The headdress is gone, but the right hand is held in a gesture of blessing. If this is a blessing goddess, then it could perhaps be Asherah. Schaeffer (1966:6-7, 1971:140) identified this item with Asherah (Korpel 2001:133: "probably"), who together with the statue of the seated Ilu (**Fig. 17** above) might have formed a couple (cf. Negbi 1976:114-116 with Fig. 129).[52]

The beautiful bronze/gold figure (**Fig. 21**) from the prow of the Ulu Burun shipwreck might have been a goddess protecting the sailors, but whether this is Asherah (Brody 1998:68, 164, Fig. 68) is not certain. The figure looks more like a naked younger goddess. It is also not clear whether she is holding her hand in a sign of benediction, as Brody (cf. also Pulak 1997:246) argued (compare with our **Cat 3.9** where the gesture is very clear), while the other hand may even have held a weapon. A better comparison would be the bronze Louvre AO 2701 (**Fig. 22**)[53], a standing goddess with Hathor headdress (bull horns with sundisk) and one hand in a gesture of blessing. A much quoted bronze (Negbi 1976:Pl. XXVIII:1, No. 1601; Winter 1987:Fig. 14 = **Fig. 23**) is the so-called "Astarte Qarnayim" (cf. e.g. Stadelmann 1967:98). Although the horns indicate that this is a divine figurine, it need not be connected with the mentioned place name of Gen 14:5 as it refers to two different places (cf. Kellermann 1981). Astour (1992:491) translated "Astarte **near** Qarnayim" (my emphasis). The dating is a problem and the item seemingly belongs with the Middle Bronze Nahariya mould (Negbi 1976:No. 1532; Winter 1987:Fig. 48).[54]

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[52] Why this figure is used as an illustration in the chapter on "messenger deities" by Handy (1994:149) I do not know. Comparable to the blessing goddess from Ugarit is another example (but unfortunately the arms are lost) Aleppo RS 68.30.248 (Weiss 1985:No. 136; Schroer 1985:Fig. 25) and another with arms also missing in the Hecht collection (Merhav & Ornan 1979:Figs. 2a-b; and Merhav 1985:Pl. V:2a-b).

[53] Negbi (1976:No. 1633); Seeden (1982:118-119, Fig. 25); Winter (1987:Fig. 225). Now dated 900-800 BCE by Gubel (1999:60). The figure is not male as in Moscati (2001:33).

[54] Cf. another bronze (standing with headdress, but hands unclear) from Taanach (Negbi 1976:No. 1642 with photograph in Gressmann 1927:No. 288).

In contrast to the older figure on **Cat 3.9** from Ugarit, a seemingly naked younger woman with *was* sceptre and the other hand held in gesture of blessing is found on a pendant from Beisan (**Cat 3.10**). But whether she is the same figure as the ones from Beisan (**Cat 3.1** and **3.2**) is impossible to say. The gesture is that of the figures **Cat 2.5, 3.9**. If this is the younger Anat or Astarte is just as difficult to ascertain as the *was* sceptre was used for both.[55] The iconography of **Cat 3.10** is different to that of the naked figures (2.5).

A small terracotta from Beth Shemesh showing a standing goddess with a feathered headdress holding two *ankhs* and accompanied by a male god (Grant 1934:54, Fig. 4:4.47 = **Fig. 23a**) is interesting because of the medium, but identification with a specific goddess is impossible.

What about other media of expression? Much ink has been spilt over the *ivory* **Cat 3.11** and it is depicted in many art books[56] (not because of the information, but perhaps rather because of the quality of this ivory from Ugarit).[57] A female with four wings is facing the front, giving suck to two young boys (gods or kings?). Her headdress is an elaborate Hathor type with large horns and a sundisk (cf. also on **Cat 3.8a**). Everything about this item is exceptional.

An identification with Anat is well represented in the literature on this item (esp. Ward 1969, more recently Merhav 1998:38* and now Gachet-Bizollon 2001:28-36), because in the myths of Ugarit Anat is described as:

- *winged* (cf. above under 2.1.3 with discussion of **Cat 1.9**),
- *horned* (cf. 2.2 for criticism to **Cat 2.2**) and
- as a *suckling* deity in *CAT* 1.15:II:27.

Caquot & Sznycer (1980:19) even talked of “iconographic confirmation”. The view that the Ugaritic texts cannot uncritically be applied to the images (and vice versa) has been stated clearly (1.3). However, even if we do use the Ugaritic texts, there are problems associated with *CAT* 1.15.

CAT 1.15 from the epic of Keret refers to the lad Yassib who will suck at the breasts of two goddesses. The second goddess is taken to be the Maid (Anat). However, the reading “Anat” in line 27 is not certain because the text is broken. Wyatt (1983:273, 1999:100, 2002:209) argued that the *btlt* does not necessarily refer to Anat. Most scholars read the name of Athirat (Asherah) in line 26, but Greenstein (cf. translation in Parker 1997:25 and esp. 1998:110-111) read this as “Astarte”:

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55 Contra Maxwell-Hyslop (1971:139): “Ashtoreth holding the war (**sic!**) sceptre”.

56 Cf. the line-drawing in Winter (1987:frontispiece).

57 Overview in Winter (1987:397-403) and literature cited in Lagarce (1983:549-550n3). For a photograph and drawing of the whole ivory piece see Caquot & Sznycer (1980:Pls. XXVIII-IX); Caubet & Poplin (1987:Fig. 17) and now the detailed discussion with new photographs and drawings in Gachet-Bizollon (2001).

- by looking at *new photographs* of the tablet;
- by arguing that Anat and *Astarte* (instead of Anat and Asherah) are usually paired;
- by indicating that the future *king* will rather be suckled by the *younger goddesses* than the older Asherah. In *CAT* 1.23:24 the "gracious gods" are described as sucking the teats of Asherah[58], but in *CAT* 1.15 it is the future king.

This is an indication how fragile any argument based on an identification solely by referring to the texts from Ugarit can be! If we use the texts only, three candidates are possible:

- Anat (reading "Anat" in *CAT* 1.15)
- Asherah (traditional reading of *CAT* 1.15 compared with 1.23)
- Astarte (reading *CAT* 1.15 with Greenstein).

The other possible candidates are usually not considered (Shapsh?[59]).

Weippert (1988:308-309) rejected an identification with Anat (Handy 1994:54)[60] and Matthiae (1962:87ff.) opted for both Anat or Astarte. Lipiński (1972:106n31) chose Asherah because of the *sundisk*, as did Wyatt (1983:274) who argued for a pairing of Asherah-Shapsh. This is not conclusive enough. As stated earlier, the *total iconography* is important and not only one attribute.

In Egypt the motif of the "suckling goddess" (suckling the king) is well known (Winter 1987:Figs. 405-408) and this is also a motif in Mesoptamian literature (Greenstein 1998:110; Weippert 1985:61-64, 71-78).[61] There are possibly also suckling figures on the 1200 BCE terracottas from Afek and Revadim (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:82, 85 with Fig. 82; Frevel 1995:811ff., Fig. 12 and Hadley 2000:193-194 = **Fig. 24**) which have been brought into the argument. The figure wears the Hathor headdress and two boys are suckling at her breasts. If this is Asherah as argued by Margalith (1994:109ff.) is unclear (cf. discussion in Frevel).

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[58] In this text it is a question of whether two or one goddesses are involved, but Anat seems to be excluded. With regard to the ivory under discussion Gachet-Bizollon (2001:34) quoted Fukui who wrote: "representing two figures of a same prince nursed by two goddesses in one body. One nipple of the nursing goddess is ᶜAnat's and the other belongs to Asherah. Besides, one pair of wings are ᶜAnat's and the others are Asherah's".

[59] Who seems to have been an important goddess at Ugarit (Wiggins 1996a).

[60] But this item is not a stela but an ivory.

[61] Cf. also the woman with child on an 11-10th century terracotta (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 103).

It seems that with regard to **Cat 3.11** no definitive ascription is possible. The "boys" are rather to be understood as *kings*[62] if we look at the rest of the panel (Caubet & Poplin 1987:Fig. 17 = **Fig. 24a**; cf. Greenstein 1998; Walls 1992:154 and now Gachet-Bizollon 2001). The identification with the traditional candidate Anat is not so clear. One has to keep an open mind about who the goddess is, but Asherah is the less likely because the two boys are kings rather than gods.

Cat 3.13 shows a winged figure (comparable to **Cat 3.11**) on a sphinx-like plaque. Barrelet proposed that this is Anat because of the wings (1958:36), but the same doubts might be raised as with all the other winged figures (**Cat 1.9**, **2.2**, **3.11-3.12**). What is interesting is that on the one side there is a dressed winged figure and on the other side a naked figure which reminds of Qedeshet (for the other figure cf. **Cat 5.30** under 2.5.3), which indicates that the two figures might be related (cf. Helck 1971:219).

Helga Weippert (1988:307-308 with Fig. 3.53(4) = **Fig. 24b**) connected a winged figure (which is very rare for bronzes), showing the remains of horns and presumably helding weapons, with Anat. But the figure is dated before the period under discussion (Seeden 1980:29:No. 99) and therefore excluded from the catalogue. The headdress is also comparable to that of the MB Nahariya goddess (Seeden 1980:28, Pl. 22c).

The winged figure on the scaraboid **Cat 3.12** from Akko was earlier connected with Astarte as the daughter of Ptah (Cornelius 1994:107)[63]; a proposal which Lipiński rejected and suggested Anat instead because she is winged in the Ugaritic texts (1996:257). The problem of the winged Anat figures has been dealt with. The earlier identification is therefore retained.

Amulet figurines from Palestine collected by Herrmann (1994:Nos. 151-153 = **Fig. 25**) wearing the *atef* headdress are clearly deities, but it is not so easy to identify them with Anat. To argue that her "…ikonographisches Kennzeichen ist die Atefkrone", says too much. It has been shown above how both Anat and Astarte wear this crown. Nevertheless, the pose of the figurine standing with her arms against her hips reminds one of the named Anat item **Cat 3.7** from Tanis and the unidentifiable figure on the Balu^{c}a stela **Cat 3.3**.[64]

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[62] Wyatt (1983:274) argued for two aspects of the god Athtar, linked with kingship. Other proposed Shahar and Shalem as in *CAT* 1.23 (e.g. Margalith 1994).

[63] Cf. now Cornelius (1998:172, 2000:75) and Keel in his *Corpus* of Palestinian seals (1997:530).

[64] Wyatt (1983:277n29) argued that the standing figure next to the seated El-type on some cylinder seals published by Schaeffer (1956:68ff.) is also Asherah. However, it is rather a goddess of the *lama* protective type (cf. Black & Green 1992:115, Fig. 92). Pope (1971) identified the standing figure on the Ugarit mug (Cornelius 1994:Fig. 55) as *Asherah* with Hathor hairdo serving the seated Ilu, but this is rather a Baal figure with a

2.4 *The equestrian goddess* (Cat 4.1-4.26)

The Syrian bronze **Cat 1.6** with the menacing figure in a chariot was dealt with above (2.1.2) and connected with Astarte as the "mistress of the chariot". Goddesses on horseback and horse-riding in the ANE were discussed in an earlier study (Cornelius 1994:78ff.).[65] Horse-riding was already known in pre-Sargonic times in the ANE. In Egypt it developed a bit later, after horses were imported from Syro-Palestine, but mounted scouts are known from the New Kingdom. Riders used a cloth to protect them from sweat; there is probably physical evidence of this from the tomb of Sen-Mut at Thebes (Littauer & Crouwel 1979:97).

Leclant (1960) wrote a pioneering article on *Astarte on horseback*. The problem with this goddess type is ascertaining whether the figure is indeed a deity, esp. with regard to the ostraca[66], and whether it is *female*. Because of this, the items in Leclant (1960:Figs. 19[67] and 22 [male], also 21 [head missing]) are excluded (cf. now Rommelaere 1991:Nos.117, 118, 120). Ostracon Louvre E 25323 (Leclant 1960:Fig. 20) is too unclear (cf. colour drawing in Vandier d'Abbadie 1946-1959:Pl. CV:2785) to make any conclusions.

The second question is whether the rider is perhaps not the riding *pharaoh* when there is an enemy, as on the Metropolitan piece (Leclant 1960:Fig. 25; Rommelaere 1991:Fig. 17 = **Fig. 26**) as Decker (1971:35ff.) argued. Here the typical *atef* crown was used as criterion and another argument in favour of the figure being a goddess would be the shield.[68]

Excluded here are four items sometimes connected with the riding Astarte, published in Cornelius (1994:82ff. with Pls. 24, 26-27:RR35-38) as

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hairlock (Cornelius 1994:225). The smaller figure on the Baal stela from Ugarit is not a woman, nor is it a goddess as Frankfort (1996:257) and Williams-Forte (1983:30) presumed (Cornelius 1994:Pl. 32:BR1 with 137-138n3), but only a king functioning as a priest (Yon 1996:415) or deified (Bonatz 2000:134-135). It is uncertain which goddess the woman on the blue faience pendant from Minet el-Beida RS 3.113 (Louvre AO 14725 = Cluzan 1993:238; cf. the armed god on the other pendant RS 3.114 [AO 14726]; Cornelius 1994:98, Pl. 28:RM 13 = Reshep) in a long dress with *ankh*, uraeus on her headdress and flanked by two ureai is.

[65] One may add to the literature on horses in Egypt: Zivie (1985); Rommelaere (1991, esp. Chapter 8 on Astarte), Horn (1995) and the article "Equines" in Redford (2001:1:478-479). For chariot representations cf. Decker (1994:Pls. LXXXIVff.) and Bollweg (1999).

[66] Cf. Schulman (1957:268ff.); Leclant (1960:43 with Figs. 18-23); Stadelmann (1967:104) and Mattely (1997).

[67] In colour in Vandier d'Abbadie (1946-1959:Pl. XIX:2159).

[68] Cf. also the scarabs BM EA 39707, 28109, 4170 and UC 38069 (earlier connected with Astarte in Cornelius 1993:27).

representing Reshef. The detailed discussion in Cornelius (1994) will not be repeated here, although the author is *now* of the opinion that only item RR38 can perhaps be identified with Reshef because of the inscription. RR37 is uncertain because the reconstruction is not that clear. The inscription does refer to Reshef, but this does not necessarily mean that the deity is being depicted. RR36 and RR35 (= **Figs. 27a-b**) can both be depictions of either Reshef or Astarte, on horseback and in a chariot respectively. In both cases the head is missing, and it is unclear if RR35 shows a bearded face. The shield with spear may be compared with inscribed items referring to Reshef and Astarte, e.g. RR35 with Astarte **Cat 1.8**, RR36 can be compared to Astarte **Cat 4.4a**. Stadelmann (1967:58, earlier followed by the author) argued that the shield is being waved wildly above the head of Astarte (**Cat 4.2**), which makes Reshef a more likely candidate, but this argument is perhaps not conclusive enough. In short, it seems safer to regard only the item from Sais (Cornelius RR38) as representing Reshef, with RR37 uncertain and RR35-36 possibly identifiable with either Astarte or Reshef .

A scarab in Basel shows a chariot running over the enemy, but there are no attributes to suggest the charioteer is a deity (Hornung & Staehelin 1976:405:Va7)[69]. Whether an “Astarte” figurine was used to decorate horses’ bridles (Helck 1966:4 and Keel 1996:Fig. 324a) is uncertain (cf. below under 3.1.3 with **Fig. 28**). Also excluded is an item on a fragment from the Luxor temple where an enemy is being trampled (Leclant 1960:Fig. 24; Rommelaere 1991:No. 114 = **Fig. 29**). There is a very unclear raised arm and the decoration on the headdress can be a ureaus or feathers (which it seems Schulman 1957:269n39 connected with a goddess). Also excluded are items where the horse is not clear (Leclant 1960:Figs. 5 and 17).

There are mainly *three* media for this iconographic type:

- Stelae and reliefs (**Cat 4.1-4.4a**)
- Ostraca (**Cat 4.5-4.7**)
- Seals and plaques (**Cat 4.8-4.26**),
- with one metal pendant (**Cat 4.20**).

Three *trends* in the iconography have been identified:

- The goddess is menacing on horseback (**Cat 4.1-4.14, 4.19-4.20**)
- She is menacing an enemy (**Cat 4.4, 4.9, 4.19**)
- The goddess stands or kneels (not riding) on horseback (**Cat 4.15-4.18, 4.21-4.27**), with the variant of the winged figure (**Cat 4.21-4.26)**.

[69] Also exclude Basel No. 705, although this is a horse and not a horned animal (as in Hornung & Staehelin 1976:330, cf. the tail [Cornelius 1994:82]) and Matouk (1971/1977:403:No. 1701). The Akko item (Keel 1997:532-533:No. 4) which depicts a figure on horseback is too unclear to make it an Astarte as Giveon (1978:95) did.

2.4.1 The menacing goddess on horseback (Cat 4.1-4.14, 4.19-4.20)

Four inscribed Egyptian reliefs depict a naked female figure with *atef* crown riding on a horse (**Cat 4.1-4.2, 4.4, 4.4a**). On **Cat 4.1** she rides side-saddle, in a fashion Leclant (1960:41ff.) described as "Amazonian". The first two items have the figure waving a weapon above her head in a menacing way; on **Cat 4.2** she is wielding a shield in an aggressive fashion, and on **Cat 4.1** she is holding another weapon in front of her. The item from Buhen **Cat 4.4a** shows Astarte brandishing a mace menacingly and holding a spear with a small shield together in one hand (cf. Anat **Cat 1.1** and for Reshep see Cornelius 1994:Pls. 2, 7, 10, 12-14 and **Fig. 1**). **Cat 4.4** has her pursuing a bound Kushite and shooting with a bow (cf. Yadin 1963:234-235). **Cat 4.2** has on the right a figure in a gesture of praise (Leclant 1960:Pl. IIA). On **Cat 4.4** (compare **4.11**) there are reins around her hips. The name is read as representing "Astarte" and the inscriptions identify all four figures as Astarte on horseback (discussed in more detail under 3.4.2).

In Egyptian texts (cf. Stadelmann 1967:101ff.) *both* Astarte and Anat are linked with chariots:

- Part of a chariot is likened to Astarte and Anat: Thotmoses IV (Pritchard 1969a:250)
- Anat: Sethos I (Pritchard 1969a:254)
- Mighty in the chariot like Astarte: Thotmoses IV (Pritchard 1969a:250)
- Astarte: Thotmoses IV Armant stela (Pritchard 1969a:244).

However, the *name* of Astarte on the Egyptian visual material makes it clear that she was depicted as a riding figure, whereas such information for Anat is still lacking. In a text from Ugarit (*CAT* 1.86:6)[70] Astarte and Reshep are also connected with horses and chariots.[71]

From the inscribed images depicting the equestrian Astarte it is clear that Astarte was depicted on horseback. With this in mind, other uninscribed representations can be studied and compared.

The Ashmolean stela **Cat 4.3** shows a similar riding figure, with a worshipper on the lower register, and it is undoubtedly Astarte (Stadelmann 1967:103). Various *ostraca* also depicted a figure on horseback but, as indicated above, some are too unclear to determine whether it is a woman or a goddess that is involved. Very clear is the example in Berlin (**Cat 4.5**), where some of the original colouring still remains. A naked woman (cf. the nipple)

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[70] Herrmann (1999:59) reconstructed A[nat] at the end, cf. for reading Anat also Wyatt (1984:334, 1999:111). The importance of horses in Ugarit might be indicated by the *hippiatric texts* (Pardee 1985).

[71] For Reshep and Astarte and horses in Egypt cf. texts in Pritchard (1969a:244).

with what looks like a pony-tail (no *atef*) holds the reins and is waving a bow above her head. The other two examples in the catalogue (**Cat 4.6-4.7**) do not show the women with weapons in the typical Astarte fashion, but because horse-riding was rare in Egypt and even less common for women, they might represent Astarte as well.

Cat 4.4 from the time of Tothmoses IV is the oldest item, with the other items from the time of Sethos I (**Cat 4.2**) and Ramses II (**Cat 4.3, 4.4a**). Stadelmann (1967:57-61) argued that in the 19th century Baal-Seth replaced Reshep as the main god of war and that Astarte replaced Reshep as the riding figure. **Cat 4.4a** shows that she was popular as far south as Buhen in the Sudan.

It is an open question whether there are *goddesses* in chariots shooting at each another on an Egyptian ostracon (Rommelaere 1991:244, No. 122 = **Fig. 30**); perhaps this is rather a case of a queen in the chariot as at Amarna, where Nefertete and the princesses ride in chariots (Davies 1903:I:Pl. X). At Avaris Pusch excavated a badly broken relief depicting the fore-legs of a horse with a worshipper. He reconstructed this as a depiction of the goddess Astarte (**Fig. 31**).[72]

Astarte (with inscription) is shown on horseback in the Persian temple of Hibis. She wears the white crown and holds weapons in both hands, but is not menacing and is flanked by two other armed figures identified by the inscriptions as Astarte (cf. **Fig. 10**). Astarte is depicted in a small chariot (riding over the enemy) in the Ptolemaic Horus temple at Edfu (Cornelius 1994:74 [with bibliography; add Rommelaere 1991:110-111 with Fig. 85], Fig. 12 = **Fig. 32**). The inscription reads "Astarte mistress of horses and lady of the chariot". The head is damaged, but has been reconstructed as the lion-headed Sekhmet.[73] Roman period coins from Sidon depict the wagon of Astarte (Gressmann 1927:No. 359). Le Lasseur (1919:Figs. 97 and 98) depicted two later items of horse-riding figures, the first from Naucratis (6th cent.), the other from Italy. Whether the figure with the menacing pose on a bull from a relief of Nectanebo II (Cornelius 1994:56 with Fig. 3 = **Fig. 33**) is another Astarte is uncertain.

Leaving the Egyptian stelae and ostraca behind, we move on to cylinder and stamp seals possibly representing Astarte on horseback. Leclant (1960:64-67, Fig. Pl. IB = **Cat 4.8**) published a cylinder depicting a figure riding side-saddle on a horse, with *atef* crown, brandishing a weapon in a

[72] I want to thank Dr Pusch for the material and information he sent me. Cf. also the figure of a similar horse from TT 87 (Guksch 1995:35, Fig. 11, Pl. 19e) which, according to Frau Guksch, is not a horse but a steer.

[73] Perhaps to indicate her martial characteristics (Herrmann 1999:59).

menacing way and holding a shield in front of her. Around the figure are animals. This is a deity related to and hunting animals. The shield and spear held together occur with the menacing Astarte on horseback (**Cat 4.4a**) and held separately on **Cat 4.2,** like **Cat 4.8**. Astarte is the logical identification. A similar figure of a riding figure with a menacing weapon occurs on a Phoenician *coupe* (Gubel & Cauet 1987:Figs. 1, 6; Bonnet 1996:29-30, Pl. III:2 = **Fig. 34**).

Two other cylinders in the Ashmolean collection published by Buchanan (**Cat 4.9-10**) show a figure on horseback with a menacing gesture, but the headdress is unclear. The first cylinder with the shield is comparable to **Cat 4.8**. Perhaps these are also Astarte figurines because of the menacing gesture.[74]

A whole series of scarabs (**Cat 4.12, 15-19**) depicting a figure on horseback were earlier connected with Astarte (Cornelius 1993:26-27, Pls. V-VII and 1994:76-77). **Cat 4.11** is very similar to **Cat 4.8** and was published by Giveon (1980:150; cf. Cornelius 1993:27 and 1994:77) as an image of the god Reshep, but the *atef* crown and the strong relationship between Astarte and horses make her a stronger candidate. **Cat 4.12-13a** has the same type of figure. **Cat 4.13** and **13a** are very similar. On the Fribourg scarab **Cat 4.19** the *atef* is very clear, behind the figure is the sun-shade (cf. relief **Cat 4.4** and the enemy below).[75]

The frame of the metal pendant (**Cat 4.20**) also depicts a figure with *atef* crown brandishing a weapon menacingly on horseback. On the plaque **Cat 4.14** there is a similar figure with hieroglyphs.

2.4.2 The non-menacing goddess (Cat 4.15-4.18, 4.21-4.26)

A second type shows the figure not menacing, but *without* weapons on horseback. **Cat 4.15-18** have a figure with *atef* crown standing on horseback. To these should be added scarabs depicting a *winged* figure on horseback (**Cat 4.22-26**). **Cat 4.22-25** were earlier identified as representing Baal-Seth (Cornelius 1994:Pl. 50:BM69-73), but Lipiński (1996:262) has argued for Astarte because of the horse or for Anat because of the *wings*. In the end he opted for Anat, because of the eye hieroglyhic sign and the fact that the name of Anat is written with the cuneiform logogram for eye. However, Astarte has the inscribed Egyptian material in her favour and is a more likely candidate

[74] Two other riding figures are also in the Ashmolean collection of cylinder seals (Buchanan 1966:Nos. 1027 and 1028). Uehlinger (1998-2001:63) referred to a cylinder from Ugarit (Amiet 1992:71-72, 79 No. 149). The one figure is on horseback, but the headdress is unclear. The other figure is on the back of a lion.

[75] Cf. the Akko scaraboid (Keel 1997:532-533:No. 4).

(cf. earlier Cornelius 1998:170 and now 2000:75).[76] On these items the figure wears the double crown of Egypt and seems to stand or kneel on the horse. The horses are clearly identified by the tail and plumes (cf. 3.3.4). **Cat 4.26** in the Strasbourg collection should now be added (cf. Leclant 1975b:508n101) to the items identified earlier. Behind *three* items (**Cat 4.22-23, 4.26**) the Egyptian *udjat*-eye is clearly visible.

The winged figure on horseback is also found on later IA scarabs: Akko scarab IAA 73 (Keel 1997:572-573:119) and Private Collection Fribourg SK 1975.22 (23) (published in Cornelius 1998:168-170, Fig. 2) = **Figs. 35a-b**.

The last item to be mentioned in this category is the Cairo plaquette **Cat 4.21**. In this case she appears next to a winged figure on the back of a lion, which has been identified with Baal-Seth (Cornelius 1994:204, but cf. criticism of Lipiński 1996:260).

2.5 *Naked woman holding objects ("Qedeshet")* (Cat 5.1-5.62)

The largest corpus of iconographical material (66 items) is dealt with under this category. *Seven* inscribed stelae from Egypt (**Cat 5.1, 5.3-5.5**, **5.7**, **5.16-17**) show a naked figure standing *en face* on the back of a lion with a Hathor hairdo and the hands stretched out and holding objects (snakes and plants). She is identified by the hieroglyphs (cf. 3.4.3) as *qdš/qdšt*, for convenience the name is read as "Qedeshet" without proposing any pronunciation. A similar figure occurs on metal pendants (from Ugarit **Cat 5.20**, **5.20a**, **5.23**, **5.27-5.28** and from Palestine **Cat 5.21**) and on terracottas from Palestine (**Cat 5.13, 5.24-5.25**, **5.31-61a**).[77]

In the catalogue the material representing this type was divided into two main groups:

- standing in a triad, i.e. flanked by two other figures (**Cat 5.1-5.13**)
- standing alone, but in some cases with worshippers (**Cat 5.14-5.62**).

Each of these groups can again be sub-divided into:

- standing on a *lion*: **Cat 5.1-5.5**, **5.7-5.9**, **5.11-5.25**
- with the variants **Cat 5.13** and **5.22** (on horse) and **5.23** (on astral symbols)
- without any pedestal: **Cat 5.6, 5.10** (both damaged)**, 5.26-5.62**.

Within each of these two main groups the items were sorted according to *medium* (and according to provenance):

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[76] Not the god Reshep (Hornung & Staehelin 1976:93), because he is not winged (Cornelius 1994:181).

[77] She is *not* dressed on **Cat 5.32**, as Pritchard (1943:7 No. 17) and Maier (1986:123n3) presumed.

- relief-stelae: **Cat 5.1-5.10**, **5.14-18**, **5.26** (total 16)
- metal pendants: **Cat 5.12**, **5.20, 5.20a**, **5.21**, **5.23**, **5.27-5.29** (total 8)
- cylinder seal: **Cat 5.11** (1)
- faience pendant: **Cat 5.19** (1)
- terracotta mould: **5.13** (1)
- gold foil: **Cat 5.22** (1)
- metal plaque: **Cat 5.30** (1)
- terracotta plaques: **Cat 5.24-5.25**, **5.31-61a** (36)
- wall-bracket: **Cat 5.62** (1).

This is an indication of the *variation* of media in which the iconographic type occurs. The stelae (16) are valuable because of the inscriptions (7), the terracotta plaques (abbreviated as terracottas) for their quantity (36) and the metal pendants (8) for their artistic value.

Of the 16 *stelae* in this catalogue (**Cat 5.1-5.10**, **5.14-18**, **5.26**), seven (**Cat 5.1**, **5.3-5.5**, **5.7**, **5.16-17**) contain the name "Qedeshet" (cf. 3.4.3 for the names). On 13 she is on a lion (**Cat 5.1-5.5**, **5.7-5.9**, **5.14-5.18**), but there are three without lions because **Cat 5.6** and **5.10** are damaged and **Cat 5.26** is a trial-piece. In ten cases she appears in a triad (**Cat 5.1-5.10**) and in six cases alone (**Cat 5.14-5.18**, **5.26**).

Leibovitch (1961), Helck (1971a:464-465), Schulman (1984:74), Stadelmann (1984:26-27) and Keel (1992a:203ff. with Figs. 204-213) gave overviews of the stelae. **Table 1** is a comparative concordance of the 16 stelae.

In Israel/Palestine the medium used was mostly cheap clay/terracotta (**Cat 5.24-5.25**, **5.31-61a**), but there is also a golden pendant (**Cat 5.21**) and foil (**Cat 5.22**). Examples in metal are well known from Ugarit (**Cat 5.20**, **5.20a**, **5.23**, **5.27-28**) as is the example from the Ulu Burun shipwreck (**Cat 5.29**).

The metal pendants depicting only a face with pudenda (e.g. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Figs. 48-49 = **Fig. 35c**) without arms or legs might be abbreviations of the frontal facing female nude, but they are excluded from the discussion because there are no extended arms holding objects.

The terracottas can be sub-divided into items depicting the woman complete (**Cat 5.24-43**) and fragmentary pieces with the lower part of the body broken or missing (**Cat 5.44-61a**). The criteria that have been followed in identifying the figure on Palestinian terracottas are similar to those that apply to the inscribed stelae from Egypt, viz. the *pose* of the *naked goddess* and the *position of the arms* (i.e. extended in V-form) (Pritchard 1943:32 and

Schulman 1984:79), although there are some exceptions. Other types[78] which occur in the medium of the terracotta have therefore been excluded.

Pilz collected images (1924:137-139:Gruppe B), as did Pritchard (1943:6-8:Type IA), Holland (1975:I:220:type C.V.a, cf. II:25-26), Winter (1987:110-114:type 4) and Uehlinger (1998-2001:53, 56:type VIII). Tadmor (1982:161-164, cf. Hadley 2000:189ff.) argued that there are two groups of clay plaques: those standing holding attributes which identify them as *deities* and those who do not (and which do not concern us here).

Kamlah published two items from Zeraqon in Jordan. He presented a catalogue of the "naked goddess with plants" (1993:122-125), but concentrated on the *plant motif*:

- woman holding short-stemmed flowers
- holding long-stemmed flowers
- holding flowers and framed by plant stems
- holding flowers and framed by two further plants, with stems going over the head
- holding breasts and framed by plants
- with plants and animals
- individual items and
- fragments.

In his study on the Judaean pillar figurines, Kletter concentrated on the *headdress* and also gave a list of terracottas with Hathor hairdress and holding flowers (1996:34, 270-27, 273). These are included in this catalogue, but he could have added his own 5.V.2.33 (**Cat 5.32**). His 5.V.2.13, 14 and 23 (**Cat 5.49**, **5.33** and **5**.**60**) do hold plants (and not "probably", as Kletter states), 5.V.2.27 (**Cat 5.44**) holds plants and not her breasts, 5.V.2.21 (Dever 1986:Pl. 54:2) is empty and 5.V.2.12 (Macalister 1912:III:Pl CCXXI:4; cf. Holland 1975:C.V.a.10) is not holding plants, but the arms are hanging down. **Cat 5.47** is included under figures with the "crescent hairdress", but the line-drawing in Macalister is so bad that it could just as well be the Hathor hairdo (without the outside curl).

A provisional list of representations from Israel/Palestine (with the numbers as in Pilz, Pritchard, Holland, Kamlah and Kletter) studied in the catalogue is presented in **Table 2**.[79] Also included are items which do not come from published excavations.

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[78] Cf. Pilz (1924); Pritchard (1943); Holland (1975, 1977); Tadmor (1982, 1982a); Winter (1987:96ff.); Kamlah (1993); Kletter (1996); Keel & Uehlinger (1998:96ff.) and Hadley (2000:189ff.). A new corpus of the terracotta *plaques* is in preparation.

[79] Cf. Winter (1987:96ff.); Keel & Uehlinger (1998:74-76, 532) and Cornelius (1999:245-247).

There will not be detailed discussion of every item as this is done in the *catalogue*. Only exceptional characteristics not already remarked on will be indicated.

2.5.1 Triad figures (Cat 5.1-5.13)

The first set of items depicts the figure standing in a triad, i.e. a central *en face* figure flanked by two other figures facing her on the left and the right. In most of the cases she is standing on the back of a lion: **Cat 5.1-5.5, 5.7-5.9, 5.11-12**. The items **Cat 5.6, 5.10** are both damaged and it might be that these also contained a lion as pedestal. The lions all face to the right.

The names (cf. 3.4.3) on the Egyptian stelae **Cat 5.1, 5.3-5, 5.7** leave no doubt that this is "Qedeshet". A similar figure in the centre also makes **Cat 5.6, 5.8-10** and **5.12** representations of the same goddess.

The date of the Cypriotic cylinder seal **Cat 5.11** is a matter of debate, but it is dated c. 1300.[80] On this item she holds caprids instead of the typical serpents and flowers. The two male figures flanking her are in Egyptian style, but not clearly Min and Reshep as on the Egyptian stelae (perhaps Reshep on the right, cf. Cornelius 1994:Pl. 24:RR32). This item can be compared with the LB cylinder Collection BIBLE+ORIENT of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, VR 1992.16 (Keel & Uehlinger 1996:151, Fig. 174; Keel 1995:210, Fig. 421 = **Fig. 36**): a naked female in winged naos with hands held in front is flanked by two male figures standing on animals. But she is not standing on an animal and does not hold her hands in the typical position of this type.

Cat 5.12 is a stela-shaped pendant and the figure is very similar to the figure on the stelae (esp. **Cat 5.7**). A much-debated variant is **Cat 5.13,** where the figure stands in a triad on a *horse* instead of the typical lion. The non-violent figure on horseback was studied above (2.4.2), but in this case we have a figure like the typical goddess with objects on a lion: naked *en face*. The crown is totally different (horned) and she is holding objects which look like mirrors[81], but which are rather flowers. This figure has been connected with "Qedeshet" (Cornelius 1993:31, 1994:103 and 1999:246 and Schulman 1984:79), although others described it as "Astarte" within the Palestinian context (e.g. Weippert 1988:305).

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[80] Letter from Collon (12 April 1996): she dates the item in 1450-1350 or even 1300. For a figure on a lion cf. the Ugaritic seal in Amiet (1992:No. 149; cf. Uehlinger 1998-2001:63).

[81] For mirrors cf. Winter (1987:Figs. 1-10), but these are rounder in form. For the birds above cf. **Figs. 42a-b**.

Keel (1992a:207) commented on the *gods* which accompany her on the so-called triad stelae. From the items in the *catalogue* it can be observed that *two* gods occur with her:

- Egyptian god Min on her right: **Cat 5.1-5.6**.
- Syro-Palestinian god Reshep on her left: **Cat 5.1-5.4**, with his name only on **Cat 5.5**. On **Cat 5.6** the figure is broken away (but there is very little space for the figure on the right (?)).

The figures on items **Cat 5.7-13** are problematic (cf. Keel 1992a:207; Cornelius 1994:58, 103-104, 154-157 and Lipiński 1996:255). One would expect Min on the left, but he is not there. These figures were earlier described as representing Baal (Cornelius 1994:155-157), but this was not convincing and the ascription was criticised by Lipiński. On the right-hand side one expects Reshep, but only **Cat 5.11** and **5.12** might show this god. Lipiński made the figure on the right on **Cat 5.7** a Reshep figure with a gazelle symbol and holding a mace. The divinity of the figures on **Cat 5.13** has been put in doubt because of their size (Cornelius 1994:103-104 with Giveon 1986 and contra Schulman 1984), but the headdresses and weapons could make them gods. Their identification remains a problem.

The woman holds serpents and Egyptian water lilies (i.e. lotus flowers; cf. 3.3.4) in her hands. She mostly holds the serpent(s) towards the face/nose of Reshep (**Cat 5.1-4**) and the flowers towards Min (**Cat 5.1-4** and **5.6**). Helck (1971:279n34; cf. Keel 1992a:208) argued that the serpents and plants have nothing to do with her but are related to Reshep and Min. It is argued that these are *her* attributes. There is no logic or system in the number of snakes or flowers; it can be one (**Cat 5.3, 5.4**) or two (**Cat 5.1, 5.7**) snakes and the flowers could be in a bunch of three (**Cat 5.3-4, 5.7**). On **Cat 5.5** and **5. 10** her hands are empty. The figure on the cylinder seal **Cat 5.11** holds *horned animals* instead of serpents and flowers as a “mistress of the animals” (cf. **Cat 5.20, 5.20a, 5.27** and **5.29**).

Her feet point either side-ways (**Cat 5.2-5.5, 5.13**) or to the right (**Cat 5.7-5.12**). **Cat 5.1** and **5.6** are uncertain because they are damaged but there the feet look more as if they are pointing sideways.

The hairdress is unknown (**Cat 5.2, 5.6**), of the Hathor-type (**Cat 5.1, 5.9**), with additional decorations like a crescent moon with disk (**Cat 5.3-5.5**) and the sistrum (**Cat 5.7-8, 5.10-12**) or horned (**Cat 5.13**). There appears to be an Egyptian pylon on **Cat 5.3** (Schulman 1984:77).

The figure *facing the front* is exceptional in Egyptian iconography (Volokhine 2000), but does occur with the figure of the Kushite god Apedemak at Naqa in the Sudan (Gamer-Wallert 1983:Pls. 35, 39; Bl. 7), now also on a relief of Osiris in KV5 (Weeks 2001:37), but this is rather a three-

dimensional relief. A rare figure of a naked woman with feet pointing sideways facing the front is found in a 6th dynasty mastaba (Daoud 1997:7 below) and cf. the face of Ra in the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates* (Hornung 1997:64, 140, Fig. 24).

For the *naked goddess* there are many comparisons.[82] From Knossos there is the *snake goddess* (Buchholz 2000:85ff.), a faience statuette depicting a woman with exposed breasts holding serpents (Orthmann 1977:No. 441; Marinatos 2000:Fig. 6.1), a clay figurine from Kannia (Marinatos 2000:Fig. 6.9) and an ivory from Knossos (Barnett 1982:Pl. 28a-b). The Greek goddess Baubo is shown with a naked lower body (*LIMC* III/2:Pls. 67-68 and Winter 1987:343ff.).

Deities standing on animals are not typical of Egypt, but are of Anatolian origin, e.g. the Yazilikaya relief group of deities (van Loon 1985:Pl. XXXI and Cornelius 1994:195ff.).[83] The Mesopotamian demon Lamashtu stands on a horse (onager) holding snakes (Keel 1992a:227-228, Figs. 281, 283). Goddesses with raised hands are well known (Demisch 1984 and Schroer 1989:92ff.).

A triad also occurs on a Graeco-Roman fake in Roanne (Leibovitch 1942), which is a copy of Louvre C 86 (**Cat 5.4**). On a pendant depicted on a relief from Karnak she is flanked by two male deities. She is dressed and does not stand on lions, but there are two lions below (Cornelius 1994:70 [with literature; add Keel 1992a:Fig. 212], Fig. 7 = **Fig. 37**).

2.5.2 Alone on animal (Cat 5.14-5.25)

The figure without the triad also stands on the back of a lion on Egyptian stelae (**Cat 5.14-18)** and two contain the name "Qedeshet" (**Cat 5.16-17**). **Cat 5.14-15** are unique as the lower body is shown in profile instead of in the usual frontal pose. **Cat 5.16** has been intensively discussed in the past and during the recent Asherah debate and so this will not be repeated (cf. 4.4-4.5). On two of the stelae there are worshippers (**Cat 5.14-15**).

Cat 5.19 is a faience pendant and a series of beautiful metal (gold and bronze) pendants from Ugarit and Akko depict a similar figure (**Cat 5.20-20a**, **5.23**, **5.21**). Very beautiful is the pendant **Cat 5.20** from Ugarit, where the figure is clearly standing on the back of a lion. **Cat 5.20a** (hitherto unpublished but cf. Cornelius 1999:Fig. 6) has a figure standing on a faintly visible animal (one would expect a lion), as is the case on **Cat 5.21**.

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[82] Cf. Barrelet (1955); Contenau (1914); Blocher (1987); Böhm (1990); Keel (1992a:Figs. 122-123, 127-132, 136, 158-160) and Winter (1987:Chap II).

[83] Already observed by Meyer (1914:91ff.).

Cat 5.22 has often been discussed; like **Cat 5.13** (cf. 2.5.1 above) the figure is on the back of a *horse*. Clamer (1980), who published this item, chose Astarte (cf. now Hadley 2000:163) because of the horse. Weippert (1988:303) admitted that the figure is related to the Egyptian "Qedeshet" representations, but concluded that this goddess when depicted on horseback in Palestine should be called "Astarte" because of the horse (1988:305). Keel & Uehlinger (1998:76) argued for a possible identification with Anat because of the *atef* crown, but also possibly with Astarte. Day (1992:190n63) included this figure with her items depicting Anat as the "Mistress of the Animals".

The full-frontal nakedness and gesture are not like those of Astarte (except for **Cat 4.21** where the figure faces the front, but the *atef*-crown excludes "Qedeshet") who is a typical warrior, nor are the plants typical of Astarte. An identification with the woman with plants as with **Cat 5.13** is proposed (cf. Cornelius 1993:31 and 1999:245).

Cat 5.23 has a figure standing on astral symbols (compare with **Cat 5.20**: star background[84] and **Cat 5.28** stars on the side) with an unfamiliar headdress. This indicates that the significance of the lion pedestal should not be over-exaggerated; there were also other variants. As will be shown, most representations of this type occur *without* the lion pedestal (2.5.3). The lions face to the right, but not on the pendants (**Cat 5.20**, **20a**). The lions have rosettes/whorls on **Cat 5.16**, **5.20** and cross-bands on **Cat 5.14**, **5.17**.

Cat 5.24-5.25 are exceptional for depicting the figure standing on lions on cheap *terracottas from Palestine*. On the second example the head of the figure is missing.

On **Cat 5.20a** and the two terracottas there are flowers on the side. As shown under 2.5.1, the figure is holding a potpourri of serpents and flowers. The figure on **Cat 5.14** holds three serpents and flowers and **Cat 5.15-16** and **5.18** show a serpent and flower in each hand. **Cat 5.17** has a serpent and flower together in each hand and on **Cat 5.19** there is a serpent and a flower in the one hand and only a serpent in the other. Some serpents are very long and curly (**Cat 5.14-15**). The figure holds gazelles on **Cat 5.20**, with interwoven serpents behind her waist, looking more like *Dekor* as Buchholz described it (2000:62). She holds rams on **Cat 5.20a** but in this case the rams hang down and are more like the ones on **Cat 5.11**. **Cat 5.20a** shows large flowers and **Cat 5.22** two even larger lilies/lotus flowers in each hand, **Cat 5.21** has smaller ones, but the type of flower is a bit unclear on **Cat 5.23-25**.

The hairdo is mostly of the Hathor type (**Cat 5.14, 5.16-5.22, 5.24**), but there are variations: with disk and crescent moon (**Cat 5.14, 5.18**), sistrum

[84] Surely not symbols of the 58 holes of the board game of the mother goddess as in Vermaak (1995:25)!

(**Cat 5.16-17** [with naos; **Cat 5.17** with extra disk and crescent moon]) or horned (**Cat 5.20a-21**). **Cat 5.20** even shows the hair clips. There is an Egyptian pylon on **Cat 5.14** and perhaps on **Cat 5.20**. **Cat 5.15** looks like a potplant. The figure on the Lachish foil (**Cat 5.22**) wears a crown of the Egyptian *ʿnḏti*-type. The crown on **Cat 5.23** is of a flat type with locks. Her feet point either sideways (**Cat 5.16, 26**) or to the right (**Cat 5.14-15, 17-22, 24-25**). **Cat 5.23** shows the feet pointing to the front. It is clear that the feet on the metal pendants and the two terracottas are mostly pointed to the *right*.

Excluded from the catalogue is the terracotta IAA 80-5210 discussed by Giveon (1986) as it is not clear what kind of an animal is involved; only the legs of the figure and part of a plant (?) are visible (**Pl. B**).

2.5.3 Without animal pedestal (Cat 5.26-5.62)

Only one Egyptian stela has a figure without the lion, but this is because it is a trial piece (**Cat 5.26**). The majority of items in this category were executed in the medium of the cheaper terracotta plaque from Palestine (**Cat 5.31-5.61a**, cf. earlier **Cat 5.24-5.25**). There are a few metal pendants and plaques (**Cat 5.27-30**) and one clay wall-bracket (**Cat 5.62**).

Cat 5.27 from Ugarit has been widely reproduced (both as photograph and line-drawing) and shows a *lion* in many drawings (**Fig. 38** – depicted in Negbi 1976:Fig. 118 and going back to her publication of the Ajjul golden pieces), which is the source for most newer studies (e.g. Winter 1987:Fig. 41; Weippert 1988:Fig. 3.51:2 and Keel 1992a:Fig. 217). The line-drawings in the older French studies (Dussaud 1941:Fig. 22 and Schaeffer 1939:Fig. 9 = **Fig. 39**) do not contain the lion. Negbi wrote "lion hardly visible" (1976:191) and note already Pritchard (1943:34): "There may possibly have been an animal below …". The photograph of the original clearly does not have any animal below, neither is the rosette above visible (cf. Cornelius 1999:243-244). Where the drawing with the lion and rosette for **Cat 5.27** comes from remains a mystery. This again indicates how important it is to work with photographs of the original and how one drawing can lead to (continued) misinterpretations. However, if one compares the photograph of **Cat 5.20a** (said to come from Ugarit, but not officially published as part of the Ras Shamra excavations of Schaeffer *et al.*) with the supposed line-drawing of **Cat 5.27** (**Fig. 39**), the resemblance is astonishing and it looks rather as if **Cat 5.20a** was the source of this line-drawing and not **Cat 5.27** (note the rosette, lion and breasts of the figure). But **Cat 5.20a** is very flat and badly executed, and the loop of the pendant is oversized (fake?).

It seems as if **Cat 5.42** is standing on a basis (Tadmor 1982a) and not an animal head (lion? cf. Kamlah 1993:124n51).[85]

Cat 5.27 have the figure holding large *rams* (like **Cat 5.20a**), but on **Cat 5.29** there are again smaller gazelles (like **Cat 5.20**). The figure does not hold animals on one of the Palestinian *terracottas*, so this a unique feature for the metal pendants (**Cat 5.27**, **Cat 5.20**, **20a** and **29**) and the cylinder seal **Cat 5.11**. **Cat 5.27** (like **Cat 5.20a**) has a figure with large flowers on the sides. On **Cat 5.30**, but especially on the terracottas (**Cat 5.31**, **34-39**, **49, 53**, **55a, 58**, **61**; the line-drawings of **Cat 5.48**, **5.50** make this less certain), this is a plant-like frame (cf. Kamlah 1993:110, 124: "Linienführung/Pflanzen umrahmt") which is not found on the Egyptian stelae. These sometimes clearly end in flowers at the top, as Kamlah observed (e.g. **Cat 5.31, 5.37**). The figure is sometimes standing *on* the frame (e.g. clear on **Cat 5.38** and **5.41**). There is a scroll-pattern on **Cat 5.46** and **5.60**. **Cat 5.24** and **5.35** have a very similar "rope"-like pattern. The item **Cat 5.58** of unknown provenance is similar to Gezer **Cat 5.59** and Gezer **Cat 5.46** is comparable with **Cat 5.60** whch has the same scroll-pattern (cf. under 3.1.3 and 3.2.3).

Van der Toorn (2002:59) proposed that the frames on some of the plaques might indicate that these are perhaps schematic representations of shrines (with reference to Keel & Uehlinger 1998:113-118). However, these "frames" are merely part of a plant-like *decoration*, as can be seen on the rope-like pattern of **Cat 5.35** and also **5.24** and when one compares the pattern of the plants and the "frame" on **Cat 5.35**.

Two items (**Cat 5.35** and **5.37**) are often reproduced, but only as line-drawings. As indicated in the descriptive catalogue, what look like serpents are not.[86] **Cat 5.35** had already intrigued Pritchard (1943:10[87]) and some authors thought they saw a serpent crawling over the shoulder.[88] These are rather flowers curling around the shoulders or perhaps part of a garment (Helck 1971:221n8). **Cat 5.37** has the figure holding two flowers (not snakes!) flanked by rosettes. Whether the curly lines on **Cat 5.62** are serpents is

[85] For figures on lion heads cf. **Fig. 48a** below, also Winter (1987:Fig. 162) and Kyrieleis & Röllig (1988). The figure on the left of the 10th cent Pella cultic stand is shown standing on a large animal (feline?) head (cf. Hadley 2000:165-169 with Fig. 11). Cf. **Fig. 42b** below, Winter (1987:Fig. 13 = **Fig. 50a**) and Keel & Uehlinger (1998:Fig. 121b).

[86] Contra Maier (1986:123n5) and Keel (1992a:206), and now admitted by Keel & Uehlinger (1998:532). The line-drawings create the wrong impression. Their reliability was doubted by Kamlah (1993:112n40 and 110n32) and Cornelius (1999:246-247).

[87] Left hand with serpent or stalk and coiled around the neck a serpent.

[88] Grant & Wright (1939:48); Joines (1968:247, 1974:66); Keel (1992a:206) and Koh (1994:83). Cf. the criticism of Helck (1971:221n8). Albright even saw a serpent on the badly damaged piece from Tell Beit Mirsim (1938:69, Pl. 27:6).

uncertain as well. It is thus clear that (contra Pritchard 1943:32, 36 and Keel 1992a:205) there is *no* serpent on any of the terracottas from Palestine. Neither do any other animals like the horned animals of the metal pendants **Cat 5.20, 20a, 27, 29** occur.

Identifying the *plants* is not that easy, as Pilz (1924:130) had already indicated and was justified in arguing that the renderings on the line-drawings (e.g. for **Cat 5.47-48, 50-51, 54**) are in fact unusable. Pritchard was not very consistent in this respect and sometimes confused papyruses and lotuses. Kamlah (1993), who differentiated between the different positions of the plants, refrained from a detailed identification (110n30). Each item has to be scrutinised carefully.

Some of the flowers that the figure is holding might be of the Egyptian lily/lotus type as on the stelae: **Cat 5.26-27**, **31-32**, **37-38**, **41-43**, **45-46**, **52**, **55-56**, **60**, **61a**. The plants on **Cat 5.33-35** (**36**?), **39**, **49**, **53**, **55b**, **58**, **61** look like papyrus and on **Cat 5.28** there are plants of the lotus and papyrus types. **Cat 5.30**, **5.40**, **5.44** and **5.57** show open lily petals.

Kamlah (1993:122, 124) differentiated between short-stemmed (e.g. **Cat 5.56**) and long-stemmed flowers (e.g. **Cat 5.33-35**), but in many cases this is unclear because the piece is damaged (e.g. **Cat 5.55**) or the flowers "flow" into the plant-frame (e.g. **Cat 5.59**).

As has been observed before, the typical crown of the "Qedeshet" figure is the Hathor type (cf. 3.3.1). There is an Egyptian pylon on **Cat 5.26**. The crown with abacus and horn occurs (**Cat 5.27**) and on **Cat 5.32** it is of a more elaborate *atef* type with large horns. The crown on the metal pendant **Cat 5.29** is of a different type. Pilz (1924:160), Albright (1938:69) and Pritchard (1943:38-40)[89] already observed the feather headdress with loose-hanging locks of the figures on terracottas from Tell Beit Mirsim (**Cat 5.40** and **5.57**). Pilz (1924:160) differentiated between two types of hair: spiral locks which represented natural hair and the massive Egyptian Hathor wig (1924:162-164; cf. Pritchard 1943:40). The quality of the terracottas is not always that good to draw such conclusions definitively and the items where only line-drawings are available should rather be left out of the discussion. The spiral type occurs on **Cat 5.34**, **37-39**, **41**, **46**, **49**, **52-53**, **58-59**, **61**), with longer locks on **Cat 5.55-56**. The hair on **Cat 5.35** is of yet a different kind. **Cat 5.26** and **32** even shows the hair clips in the hair. The items known only through line-drawings (**Cat 5.47-48, 50, 54**) are excluded from the discussion (cf. 3.3.1). **Cat 5.55b** is described as "lion faced" by Giv^{c}on (2002:*30). Is this "accidental and due to technical difficulties when pulling the figurine out

[89] Albright drew attention to the Mesopotamian origins and Pritchard pointed out the connection with the Sea Peoples.

of the mold" (Tadmor 1982:157n15) as with the "lion faced figurine from Bet-Shean" published by Rachmani (1959)?

It is clear that the feet on the terracottas (**Cat 5.27-28, 30, 37**) are like those on some stelae and metal pendants mostly pointing to the right (cf. already Pritchard 1943:41). On the unfinished stela **Cat 5.26** and terracotta **Cat 5.41** the feet point sideways, but on **Cat 5.29**, **Cat 5.34** and **Cat 5.55a** to the left. **Cat 5.32-33, 35-36** and **39-40** are too unclear or damaged.

In this study only fairly complete items are included, but the Zeraqon item (Kamlah 1993:Fig. 2a), which has no head, but the arms in a V-shape, is also of the same type. It is not included in the source catalogue, as are e.g. figures with empty hands from Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1938:Pls. 25:1, 28:2). Another figure from Tel Harasim, which only shows the lower part of the body, might also be related. It is flanked by rosettes (**Fig. 40**), which are also to be seen on **Cat 5.37**.

The attributes and other elements are summarised in **Table 3**.

The last item, **Cat 5.62** is a "wall-bracket" from Ugarit depicting a woman holding long-stemmed flowers. The vertical curly lines on her sides are decorations and not serpents. A naked girl with one arm in a V-shape and facing the front (but with her face in profile as on **Cat 5.15**) occurs on the large ivory from Ugarit (**Fig. 24a**; cf. Gachet-Bizollon 2001:39ff. with Fig. 11). The hair has locks and she is holding a flower in her raised hand, but the *ankh* symbol in the other hand hanging down makes it another type of figure.

Before this chapter is completed, some remarks on the *development* of this iconographic type have to be made.

Scholars agree that the image travelled between Syro-Palestine and Egypt, but what were its Western Asiatic origins and how can one link the later 13th century BCE Egyptian stelae with the 14th century material from Syria and Palestine?

The great German historian Eduard Meyer (1877:729, 1914:95, 1965:100-101) argued that Qadesh ("Qedeshet") was the goddess of the city of Qadesh (a view rejected by Stadelmann 1967:110) and that her iconography was of Hittite origin.[90] Meyer further argued that the local iconography could have looked similar to the Egyptian representations. Albright (1939) and Pritchard (1943) again emphasised the Mesopotamian origins, especially images of the goddess on a lion. On the so-called Burney relief there is a naked woman, front facing and standing on *two* lions (Cornelius 1989:61 with Fig. 11), but she is winged, as is the stripping figure on the lion, published by Barrelet (1955:Fig. 11d).

[90] Pilz also remarked on the Hittite iconography (1924:158-161).

Stadelmann (1967:112) already saw the figure on a lion on the Ugaritic pendant (**Cat 5.20**) as the "link" with Egyptian stelae. Helck (1966:8-9, 1971:218 and 1971a:463-464) argued that the image developed earlier from the MB Syro-Mesopotamian cylinder seals showing a stripping/naked goddess on the bull (Winter 1987:273ff. with Figs. 267ff., esp. 269 = **Fig. 41**).[91] The "real" "Qedeshet", according to Helck, developed in *Egypt* and the *serpent* was typical of her Egyptian iconography. The lifted garment on the seals became flowers and serpents in Egypt. A c. 1700 BCE mould from Kültepe (Keel & Staubli 2001:71, No. 63; Staubli 2003:Fig. IIIc:G = **Fig. 42a**) and a terracotta plaque from 14th cent. Alalakh (Alexander 1992:167ff.; van Loon 1985:Pl. IIId); Winter 1987:Fig. 291 = **Fig. 42b**) show how the garment developed into meaningless lines.[92] When she went back to Syro-Palestine the serpent and lion disappeared and she is shown only with flowers; later the figure is shown holding animals.

As shown by Keel (1992a:204-206), the animal of "Qedeshet" is not the bull[93] as on **Fig. 41**, but a *lion.* The time lapse (16th century Syria and 13th century Egypt) is also too large. Keel referred to two items: an Anatolian cast from the beginning of the 2nd millennium where a naked woman *en face* stands on a pedestal flanked by animals and hold animals; and an MB Old Syrian cylinder seal where she stands on a lion holding horned animals (1992a:Figs. 214-215 = **Figs. 43-44**) as the possible link with the Egyptian stelae.[94] To this might be added the figure holding horned animals (but not on a lion) on a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal (Winter 1987:Fig. 146 = **Fig. 45**). The cylinder seal (Keel 1992a:Fig. 216; here **Cat 5.11**) where the goddess holds horned animals and is faced by two male deities (triad!) is important, but can be excluded as an *earlier* link than the Ugaritic pendant (Keel 1992a:Fig. 218; see here **Cat 5.20**) as it has been dated *later* (c. 1300) than Schaeffer proposed. Uehlinger (1998-2001:63) described it as the "Bindeglied" with the stelae. Keel's Fig. 217 (**Cat 5.27**) should also be excluded as it has no lion. He

91 Cf. now Otto (2000:210). In the Early Bronze Age a naked goddess appears on a dragon holding objects (van Loon 1990:365 with Pl. 120).

92 Cf. Schroer (1989:103) with regard to **Fig. 42a**, and the "stripping" figure on the Hittite relief at Imamkulu (Alexander 1992:Fig. 5) and on the Hasanlu (Iran) vase (Staubli 2003:Fig. IIIc:C).

93 A chariot shaft decoration from Zincirli depicts a naked woman standing on a lion and holding lions (von Luschan 1943:79, Fig. 90). For a winged goddess holding horned animals and standing on horned animals cf. the cylinder seal in Muscarella (1981:122-123, Fig. 81). Perhaps the bull belongs to her consort the weather-god (cf. Contenau 1922:41) and not so much to her.

94 Cf. Emre (1994) for another Anatolian mould with a figure on animals (but with arms unclear). For **Fig. 44** cf. earlier Cornelius (1993:Fig. 23). The menacing figure on her left with a spear looks like Reshep (but without the shield) as on Cornelius (1994:Pl. 6).

justifiably included the cheaper medium of the terracottas from Tel Harasim (Keel 1992a:206 with Fig. 221 = **Cat 5.24**) as the link with Palestine and mentioned the figures on horseback (**Cat 5.13** and **5.22**), but his Fig. 219 (Keel 1992a:206) and the items from Beth Shemesh and Zafit have no serpents (**Cat 5.35, 5.37**), as shown earlier. Recently Keel & Uehlinger (1998:532) admitted this, but insisted on the relationship between the MB plant goddess (Schroer 1987b and 1989) and the one holding plants (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:30-31, 74-76, 112, Fig. 12b = **Fig. 46**).

The naked figure with objects basically disappeared in later periods, but there are remnants. On a pendant from Zincirli (von Luschan 1943:100-101, Pls. 46:I, 47:c; Böhm 1990:61, Fig. 11d = **Fig. 47**) the figure holds plants and on the Nimrud ivories (Winter 1987:Figs. 161, 163 = **Figs. 48a-b**)[95] holds plants and animals respectively, reminiscent of **Cat 5.24** and **5.27**. IA Palestinian scarabs show Bes with serpents (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 226b) and in the later period in Egypt *Horus on the crocodiles* appears on magical cippi holding animals and snakes (cf. e.g. Kaplony in *LdÄ* III:1980:60-62).

In the light of all this, the following development of this iconographic type is proposed:

A:

1. **Fig 46**: holding plants (MB Palestinian scarab)

B:

1. **Fig 43**: on animals holding animals (Anatolian cast early 2nd millennium)
2. **Fig 44**: on lion holding horned animals (MB Syrian seal)
3. **Cat 5.20-20a**, **5.11**: on lion holding horned animals and flowers (Syro-Palestinian metal pendants c. 1450-1365/LB Cypriot cylinder seal c. 1300)
4. **Cat 5.24-25**: on lion holding flowers (LB Palestinian terracottas c. 1300)
5. **Cat 5.13, 5.22**: on horse holding flowers (LB Palestinian terracotta mould and foil c. 12th cent.)

C:

1. **Fig 45**: holding horned animals (Middle Assyrian cylinder seal)
2. **Cat 5.27, 29**: holding horned animals and **Cat 5.28**: holding flowers (LB Syro-Palestinian metal pendants c. 14th cent.)
3. **Cat 5.31-61**: holding flowers (LB Palestinian terracottas)

D:

1. **Cat 5.1-10, 5.14-18**: on lion holding flowers and *serpents* (Egyptian 13th century stelae)

[95] Cf. also for a figure holding animals Barnett (1975:Pls. XXIII (S 26, cf. S 8a-f for plants) and XXVI (S)).

The lion and plants occur in Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Serpents are unique to Egypt; a serpent occurs once in somewhat different form in Syria (**Cat 5.20**), but never in Palestine.

D: The horned animals are unique to Syria, but are never found in Egypt and Palestine

The *triad* group is no longer unique to Egypt as is shown by **Cat 5.11** and **5.13**, although the deities are not clearly identifiable with Reshep and Min (but nor are the gods on some of the Egyptian stelae like **Cat 5.7-13**). It becomes clear that the iconography of this goddess type was not only developed in Egypt (contra Helck 1971:218), but is of Syro-Palestinian origin (Pritchard 1943:42) and from there it became popular in Egypt. Perhaps the spreading of her image runs from Syria (Ugarit or from Qadesh on the Orontes?) to Palestine to Egypt. Another route might have been from Ugarit (**Cat 5.20**) to Egypt via the East Mediterranean (Ulu Burun item **Cat 5.29** and Cypriot seal **Cat 5.11**). It is questionable whether the lion disappeared in Syro-Palestine as earlier argued by Helck, because it occurs on both metal pendants from Ugarit and terracottas from Palestine (unknown to Helck). **Cat 5.20** might indicate that the serpent was also shared by Syria and Egypt, but for Palestine it is still the "missing link".[96] Perhaps the serpents were added (or adapted from images like **Cat 5.20**) or they replaced the horned animals which are again uniquely Syrian and do not occur in Egypt and Palestine.

[96] Helck (1971:221n8) referred to the so-called serpent goddess on a plaque from Hazor, but it is unclear if she is holding serpents (cf. Keel 1992a:202 with Fig. 203).

CHAPTER 3: DISTRIBUTION, ATTRIBUTES, TITLES

This chapter discusses the artistic media in which the goddesses were illustrated, the origin (country, site, find context) of the items, iconographic attributes such as clothing, crowns, weapons, the animals and plants shown with the goddesses, the names and titles of the goddesses, and the deities, pharaohs and worshippers that appear on the items with the goddesses. The aim is only to *summarise* what has been described in the *Catalogue* and *Chapter 2* and to *compare* what is typical of each of the goddesses under discussion. Additional comments on the possible *meaning*, especially of iconographic attributes such as animals and plants, will be made in Chapter 4.

3.1 *Media*

Galling has already studied representations of goddesses according to the *media* type and emphasised certain media (1937 and revised 1977); recently Uehlinger (1998-2001) did the same in his article on naked women/goddesses. **Table 4** summarises the medium of each item and gives the following statistics for each *medium*:[1]

- reliefs: 3 (**Cat 1.1a, 3.8** and **4.2**)
- relief-column: 1 (**Cat 1.7**)
- statues: 2 (**Cat 2.1** and **3.7**)
- stelae: 31 (**Cat 1.1**, **1.2, 1.8-1.9, 3.1-3.6, 3.8a, 4.1, 4.3-4.4a, 5.1-5.10, 5.14-18, 5.26** [note **Cat 1.1** and **5.1** are on the same stela])
- bronzes: 6 (**Cat 1.4-1.6, 2.4-2.5, 3.9**)
- metal pendants (for hanging): 13 (**Cat 2.6a-b, 3.10, 4.20, 5.12, 5.19-21, 5.23, 5.27-5.29**)
- cylinder seals: 7 (**Cat 1.3, 1.10, 2.2, 4.8-4.10, 5.11**)
- bulla: 1 (**Cat 2.3**)
- stampseal-amulets/scarabs: 15 (**Cat 3.11, 4.11-13a, 4.15-19, 4.22-26**)
- ivories: 2 (**Cat 2.7, 3.11**)
- ostraca: 3 (**Cat 4.5-4.7**)
- terracotta mould: 1 (**Cat 5.13)**
- metal foil: 1 (**Cat 5.22**)
- metal plaques: 4 (**Cat 3.13, 4.14, 4.21, 5.30** [note: **Cat 3.13** and **5.30** are on the sides of the same item])
- terracotta plaques: 36 (**Cat 5.24-5.25, 5.31-61a**)
- wall-bracket: 1 (**Cat 5.62**)

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[1] The medium type is *defined* in the following sections.

For the *inscribed* material we have the following statistics:

- *Anat*: stela (2: **Cat 1.1**, **3.1**), relief (1: **Cat 3.8**), relief-column (1: **Cat 1.7**) and statue (2: **Cat 2.1** and **3.7**).
- *Astarte*: stela (7: **Cat 1.8**, **3.4**, **3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 4.4, 4.4a**), reliefs (2: **Cat 1.1a**, **4.2**), cylinder seal (1: **Cat 1.10**).
- *"Qedeshet"*: stela (7: **Cat 5.1, 5.3-5.5, 5.7, 5.16-17**).

If the proposed *identifications* (4.1) are accepted, *"Qedeshet"* occurs on 16 stelae (seven with names: **Cat 5.1, 5.3-5.5, 5.7, 5.16-17** and the others interpretations: **Cat 5.2, 5.6**, **5.8-10, 5.14-15, 5.18, 5.26**); for Anat there are only two (**Cat 1.1** and **3.1**: both inscribed with her name), while Astarte appears on eight stela (seven with names: **Cat 1.8, 3.4, 3.5-6**, **4.1, 4.4-4.4a** and one interpretation: **Cat 4.3**). Anat is shown on two named *statues* of Ramses II (**Cat 2.1** and **3.7**) and Astarte only appears on *one* named *cylinder seal* (**Cat 1.10**). The equestrian Astarte also appears on ostraca and seal-amulets (**Cat 3.12, 4.5-4.26**) and presumably on the bronze **Cat 1.6**. "Qedeshet" *also* appears on a cylinder seal (**Cat 5.11**), a clay mould (**Cat 5.13**), a metal foil (**Cat 5.22**), a wall-bracket (**Cat 5.62**), pendants (**Cat 5.12**, **5.19-21, 5.23, 27-30**) and mostly on *terracottas* (**Cat 5.24-25, 5.31-61a**).

Items where identification is problematic are bronzes (**Cat 1.4-1.5, 2.4-5, 3.9**), the pendants (**Cat 2.6a-b** and **3.10**), a plaque (**Cat 3.13**), a bulla (**Cat 2.3**), stelae (**Cat 1.2, 1.9, 3.2, 3.3, 3.8a**), cylinder seals (**Cat 1.3, 2.2**) and ivories (**Cat 2.7, 3.11**). Items which could perhaps be connected with Asherah (cf. further under 4.5) have been excluded here.

The rest of this section will include further remarks on the type of medium, with comments on the dating, size and function.

Each artistic *medium* also has its specific problems. From the headdress and pose of the *bronzes* we know that they represented goddesses, but the find context and especially the dating are a problem. With the *terracottas* the provenance (e.g. Gezer) is mostly known, but is this a goddess or just an ordinary woman? For both media the question remains: what is the name of the goddess and what was her *function* in the cult? In contrast to the larger media such as reliefs and stelae, media such as the bronze statuettes, terracottas and seal-amulets are without a broader context and the possible meaning can only be reconstructed through comparison with other media (cf. Keel 1989). Cylinder seals provide a context by showing the female figure in relation to other figures (cf. Uehlinger 1998-2001:58).

3.1.1 Relief-stelae and statues[2]

Reliefs refer to carvings (images and texts) in stone such as **Cat 1.7** (a relief column), **Cat 3.8** and **4.2**. **Cat 1.1a** is a shrine (Martin) or a lintel (van Sicelen) constructed from relief fragments. Stelae are also reliefs (with images and texts), but they are specifically standing stones with mostly rounded or rectangular top (**Cat 5.4**); a uniquely shaped stela comes from Balu^{c}a (**Cat 3.3**)

Statues refer to three-dimensional sculptures in the round ("Plastik"). The *size* of the stelae ranges from **Cat 5.5** (83 mm) to the large (damaged) Ugaritic stela **Cat 1.9** (nearly 1 m). **Cat 1.1/5.1** is well executed, but **Cat 4.3** is a small stela crudely done. **Cat 5.2-3** still show the colours in which the stelae were originally painted.

Cat 1.1a, 1.2, 1.7-8, 3.4-3.6, 3.8, 4.2, 4.4-4.4a are royal monuments. **Cat 1.9** was found near the temple of Baal and could have played a role in the Ugaritic cult. **Cat 3.1-3.2** functioned in the local (Egyptian) cult at Beisan and the Balu^{c}a stela **Cat 3.3** was a royal Moabite monument. Although **Cat 1.8** is a private stela, Helck wrote: "mag das Kultbild der Astarte in Memphis gewesen sein" (1971a:458). The "Qedeshet" stelae (**Cat 5.1-10, 5.14-18, 26**) functioned more in private cults (Sadek 1987) as did **Cat 4.1** and **4.3**.[3]

The *statue* (**Cat 2.1**) showing Ramses II with Anat is life-size, but the damaged one (**Cat 3.7**) is only 20 cm high. The function of this foreign goddess in Egypt is well known (Stadelmann 1967).

3.1.2 Seal-amulets[4]

This group of items includes cylinder seals, a clay bulla (**Cat 2.3**) and various stampseal-amulets/scarabs, which were used to seal clay tablets, doors and containers, but they were also carried as amulets. These objects of "art in miniature" reflect the symbol system of the Ancient Near Eastern religions and

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[2] Literature: for Egypt the articles "Relief sculpture", "Sculpture" and "Stelae" in Redford (2001:3:132-139, 218ff. and 319-324), for Western Asia Yon (1991 and in Meyers 1997:79-82), and for Palestine Welten (2001).

[3] On the definition of a "private stela" cf. Schulman (1988:3). Private stelae could also depict royal motifs such as the "smiting pharaoh" (Schulman 1988). The DeM stelae could have been manufactured by the artisans themselves as they had the necessary skills (Hulin 1982:276).

[4] Add to the literature in Cornelius (1994:242-243): Keel & Uehlinger (1996); Keel (1995 and 2001); Klengel-Brandt (1997); Hallo & Winter (2001) and articles "Amulets", "Scarabs" and "Seals and sealing" in Redford (2001:1:75ff and 3:179-181 and 252-257); and "Amulets" and "Seals" in Meyers (1997:1:113-155, 4:509ff.). Cf. Herrmann (1994/1999) on Palestinian amulets and on the religious function Keel (1995:266ff.) and Schroer (1987:414ff.).

were important "media of mass communication". There are many depictions which show how cylinder seals and Egyptian scarabs were carried as amulets around the neck, women carried their seals on toggle-pins on their garments or on the arm (Keel 1995:111-112, Figs. 206-209 = **Figs. 49a-b**)[5].

The seals presumably functioned as amulets, but the bulla (**Cat 2.3**) had a practical function to seal containers and doors (Keel 1995:116).

3.1.3 Terracotta plaques and metal pendants

The largest number of items represented in the catalogue are the plaques and pendants. They are mainly of relevance for the naked woman with objects (2.5), but also include other goddess types. They are sometimes called terracottas or terracotta reliefs, but this would only include the material (clay) and not the medium or the form. *Plaque* refers to the form and can be made of clay or metal (e.g. **Cat 5.30**). A mould (**Cat 5.13**) is the form from which the plaque was made.

Terracotta plaques or moulds are peculiar to Palestine in the LB period, but they disappear around 1000 BCE and reappear in the 8-7th century. The motif of the naked goddess is typical in this medium; on the other hand, male figures in clay are rare. Naked goddesses also occur in metal, but there are only a few (cf. 3.1.4).

The medium has been studied with a special focus on material from Mesopotamia.[6] The most complete study of the Palestinian material is still the unpublished dissertation by Holland (1975, cf. 1977).[7]

The most impressive item is the beautiful *mould* (155 mm) from Qarnayim (**Cat 5.13**) which, according to Ben-Arieh (1983), was filled with clay, but Schroer (1987:277) argued that it was used for cakes and filled with dough, such as the examples from Mari (Schroer 1987:Fig. 99).[8] The objects are as large as 130 mm (**Cat 5.34**) or as small as 45 mm (**Cat 5.51**). Terracottas have been called relief figurines which "were formed in an open mould into which the wet clay was impressed. The back remained flat[9] and

[5] It is uncertain if Naram-Sin wears a cylinder seal around his neck on his victory stela from Susa in the Louvre (Keel 1984:115).

[6] Cf. Barrelet (1968); van Buren (1930); Klengel-Brandt (1978, 1993); Opificius (1961); also Brentjes (1994); Dales (1960:250ff.); Moorey (1975); Wrede (1990); and for Syria Badre (1980) and Riis (1949).

[7] Cf. the specific studies of Albright (1939); Pilz (1924); Pritchard (1943); Tadmor (1981, 1982, 1982a); and now Kamlah (1993); Sparks (1994); Kletter (1996 on the clay pillar figurines); Schmitt (1999: Philistine material) and Daviau (2001: Jordanian material).

[8] For a mould for cakes from Cyprus cf. Stager & King (2001:66:Ill. 23).

[9] Cf. the back reverse side of **Cat 5.42** in Tadmor (1982a:7:left, also 1982a:9).

was sometimes smoothed with a knife" (Kokhavi 1990:XXI).[10] Liquid clay was poured into the mould and the back finished off by hand. Plaques were moulded onto a "clay tablet" background (Holland 1975:220).

With the terracotta plaques there is a similarity between certain items. **Cat 5.24** and **5.35** have a very similar pattern (plant or rope-like), observed by Keel (1992a:206[11]), who went so far as to say that both might come from the same workshop. Perhaps this is a case of casts made from the same mould. Notable is the resemblance between **Cat 5.34** (Tel Batash) and **5.59** (Gezer) and **Cat 5.58** and **5.61** (all of unknown provenance). Kelm & Mazar (1995:67) remarked of **5.34** that it was perhaps made from a mould[12], but that the details (esp. on the face) was incised later (as on **Cat 5.58**, **59**). On item **Cat 5.34** the face was left out (cf. exactly the same with **Cat 5.61**). Even **Cat 5.60** (of unknown origin) and **5.46** (Gezer) look similar, although these are definitely two separate items (different museum numbers and the figure on **Cat 5.60** has longer legs). **Cat 5.45** from Megiddo is not a mould or form as described by Schumacher (1908:65-66).[13] Macalister (1912:I:264) described the Gezer item **Cat 5.59** as a mould and observed that this is rare and that it perhaps served as mould for other terracottas from Gezer. However, this item, which Macalister represented only as a line-drawing, looks very different from the other items from this site such as **Cat 5.32** and **5.46** (the drawings for **Cat 5.47, 48, 50** are useless for our purposes). **Cat 5.49** seems more likely to be a cast made of **Cat 5.59**.

Terracottas reflect "popular iconography" (Moorey 1975:79), "Volkskunst" (Opificius 1961:201), the art of everyday life (Klengel-Brandt 1993). These pottery objects can be used to interpret the past (Sparks 1994). The type of cheap manufacturing material used probably facilitated "mass production" (Kokhavi 1990:XXI), but in spite of this it seems that not many copies made from one mould are known. Kamlah (1993:113n48) argued that the terracotta plaques were no real "billige Massenwaren".

Kamlah (1993:113) proposed that the terracottas might have been images ("Bildnis")[14] of the goddess in other media (stelae?) which functioned as cultic images, votive offerings or votive images, and linked temple and

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10 On manufacturing techniques cf. also Barrelet (1968:41ff.); Holland (1975:215ff.); James & McGovern (1993:95 with Fig. 2); Sparks (1994), and Vriezen (2001:59).

11 He calls it a "Schnurbandumrandung", cf. also Frevel (1995:886n673): "Dekorband".

12 They have "Israel Museum" but if **Cat 5.58** is the item they had in mind it should be the *Rockefeller*. **Cat 5.59** is similar to **5.58** but now in Istanbul. For examples of other moulds cf. Kelm & Mazar (1995:Figs. C31-33).

13 Letter from E. Klengel *VA* (10/7/1996).

14 Cf. Hadley (2000:202), who regarded the pillar figurines as copies or replicas of the cultic image (cf. also now van der Toorn 2002:59).

domestic piety. The idea that the figurines are copies of cultic images already appears in Pilz (1924:9).[15] The "pedestal" of **Cat 5.42** might indicate that it was a replica of a larger cultic image. A clearer pedestal occurs on a terracotta from Ugarit (Cluzon 1993:231, No. 190; Winter 1987:Fig. 13 = **Fig. 50a**).

Helck (1971a:219) described "Qedeshet" as a mere *amulet*, but Pilz (1924:9)[16] is not convinced, because it is not clear that the figures were hung. There are no depictions of terracotta plaques being worn by people, but an example from Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1938:Pl. 25:1, 28:2; Schlipphak 2001:41, Pl. 4:9.1 = **Fig. 50**) has a hole in it and might indicate that it was hung.[17]

The second group also include plaques, but this time not made of clay. The material that has been used is *metal* in a large number of cases: **Cat 2.6a-b, 3.10, 4.20, 5.12, 5.20, 5.20a, 5.21, 5.23, 5.27-29**. They are described as *pendants* (McGovern 1985:13n2), because they have a suspending loop and can hang down. A line or wire was inserted through the hole so that the pendant could be worn around the neck. Maxwell-Hyslop (1971:139) included such items under the group referred to as "pictorial" (cf. Negbi 1976:99ff. and McGovern 1985:30). Examples of metal plaques or pendants are the seven examples from Ugarit (**Cat 2.6a-b, 5.20, 5.20a, 5.23, 5.27-28**). Five of these were described as "Qedeshet" items (**5.20, 5.20a, 5.23, 5.27-28**), with the most beautiful one being **Cat 5.20** and the most enigmatic ones **5.20a** and **5.27**. Recently another such item was found off the Turkish coast (**5.29**). One item is Egyptian in style and stela-shaped (**Cat 5.12**). The bronze example from Akko (**5.21**)[18] is now lost, but an example from Beisan (**Cat 3.10**) is still in the Rockefeller.

Sometimes such pendants are described as "amulets"[19], but then this refers to the function and not only the medium or material; a seal or scarab can also be called an amulet. Perhaps it would be better to describe such items as *pendant-amulets* in the same way as we talk of *seal-amulets*. These pendants were worn by people as charms, amulets and talismans to protect them (such as the seal-amulets, cf. 3.1.2).

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[15] Referring to Paton (in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia* 1910:III:186b), who described them as not used in worship, but as gifts to the goddess.

[16] Referring to Kennedy (in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia* 1910:III:440b).

[17] A later (8th cent.) example from Tel Batash (Kelm & Mazar 1995:136-137 with Fig. 7.16 and Pl. C32) has a "pedestal" or "square plug"; perhaps the figure was inserted into a socket to hold the figure upright. As shown by Tadmor (1982), the plaques with a footrest and in the form of "beds" were meant to be kept in a horizontal position.

[18] Letter from B. Brandl of the IAA (19/6/1996).

[19] E.g. Winter (1987:132).

Unfortunately no representations of people wearing such specific pendants are known. There are only the common Egyptian amulets, which are sometimes large in size (Keel & Uehlinger 1996:Fig. 139 = **Fig. 51**); there are also Mesopotamian examples of miniature goddesses or depictions of Assyrian kings wearing amulets such as the Maltese cross (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:89ff., with Pls. 61-64 and Figs. 98, 118b, 122 and Pls. 116-117). The pendant from Ugarit (**Cat 5.20**) was found with a pin (Schaeffer 1949:Fig. 10). A necklace with metal pendants and carnelian pearls was found at Ugarit (Caubet 2001:10). An example from Zincirli (4.9 cm) was also found with a pin and a wire (von Luschan 1943:Pl. 46:I and 4:c). The pendants depicting naked goddesses (**Cat 5.12, 5.20-21, 28-29**) might have been part of the face-piece and bridle decorations of horses (von Luschan 1943:101, Fig. 122), as is known from a stone sculpture of a naked woman from the same site (von Luschan 1911:336ff.; Keel 1996:Fig. 324a; Winter 1987:Fig. 159 = **Fig. 28**).[20]

Pendants can also be made of *faience* (Herrmann 1985). One example of an Egyptian faience pendant was studied (**Cat 5.19**). What has been described as a riding Astarte occurs on an Anatolian metal pendant mould of 45 mm (**Cat 4.20**). The Egyptian stela-shaped metal pendant **Cat 5.12** is 103 mm, the Syrian **Cat 5.23** 94 mm and **Cat 5.20** 55 mm in size.
Another type is the sphinx-like axe (**Cat 3.13** and **5.30**).

The gold *foil* (112 mm) from the temple of Lachish (**Cat 5.22)** was found squashed; presumably it was originally set on a piece of wood or fastened to leather or textiles. It has been described as a cultic image (Clamer 1980 and Zwickel 1994:123). The above remarks on the naked woman on the pendants on the horses' decorations might indicate why she is related to the horse.

The last item in the catalogue is executed in an interesting medium (**Cat 5.62**). Schaeffer described this as "brûle-encens" (1949:212), but the study by Schlipphak (2001) included it under the so-called "Wand-applikationen" ("wall brackets"), of which examples were found on the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Schlipphak 2001:Pl. 1). It could be hanged as a bracket because it has a hole in it, as can be seen on a Cypriotic example of a naked woman with raised arms but empty hands (Schlipphak 2001:Pl. 30 = **Fig. 52**). Another Ugaritic example with a large hole for hanging depicts a naked woman with Hathor hairdo, but the arms are hanging down (Schlipphak 2001:Pl. II:20.26). The exact function of these items is still uncertain, but presumably it was religious (Schlipphak 2001:49).

[20] The ivories depicting a goddess on a lion holding plants (**Fig. 48a**) also formed part of such ornaments (Barnett 1964; Orchard 1967; Winter 1987:Figs. 160-162 with literature). Cf. also the face-piece of bronze from Samos (Kyrieleis & Röllig 1988).

3.1.4 Bronze figurines[21]

This medium refers to bronze figurines in the round only (**Cat 1.4-6, 2.4-5, 3.9**); metal pendants were dealt with under 3.1.3.

Negbi (1976) wrote a major monograph on deities depicted in bronze confidently entitled "Canaanite[22] gods in metal". She divided the figures into four main groups according to type and distinguished between male and female.[23] She seems to be a bit over-confident that it is in fact deities that are depicted (1976:2). Nevertheless, the female types of relevance here are:

- smiting (1976:84-86), referred to as "menacing" (**Cat 1.4-6**) here
- benedictory (1976:86-89), referred to as "blessing" (**Cat 2.4-5** and **Cat 3.9**) here and depicted as seated and standing figures
- enthroned (1976:90ff.), referred to as "seated" (**Cat 2.4-5**) here
- pictorial Qudshu (1976:99-100) pendants (here **Cat 5.20, 20a, 21, 23, 27-28**), which were dealt with under 3.1.3
- pictorial enthroned pendants (1976:101) (here **Cat 2.6a-b**).

Seeden (1980) studied the standing armed types, but divided them into *geographical* groups rather than types. In another article she gave an overview of the "peaceful" types (1982) and differentiated between various types, of which only two are of relevance for this study: the seated blessing goddess (**Cat 2.4-5)** and the standing blessing goddess (**Cat 3.9**). Falsone (1987) also wrote on the smiting (here "menacing") (**Cat 1.4-6**) goddess type.

The problems involved in dating and identifying such figures have already been spelled out under 2.1.2. There are more armed male than female bronze figurines and only a few nude female figurines are known (Seeden 1980:152 with Pl. 69 and 1982:types I-II).

There are six items in the catalogue and three types were identified: the armed figures (**Cat 1.4-6**), the seated figure (**Cat 2.4-5**) and the standing figure (**Cat 3.9**). Unfortunately the weapons are mostly lost for the first group, but the figures are of the "menacing" type. The chariot group **Cat 1.6** is the most interesting item. The largest piece **Cat 3.9** is nearly 260 mm high and the largest of the bronzes from Ugarit. **Cat 1.6** might have been part of a standard (Collon 1976:79). The chariot, which is dated later by Littauer & Crouwel (1979:145), might have replaced an older one.

The menacing figures (**Cat 1.4-1.6**) might be Anat or Astarte and the blessing figurine (**Cat 3.9**) perhaps Asherah. No bronzes depicting the naked woman are known. It is interesting that, in contrast to the nude females of the

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[21] Cf. literature and discussion under 2.1.2. Detailed source studies: Negbi (1976) and Seeden (1980). For Egypt cf. "Bronze statuettes" in Redford (2001:1:203ff.).

[22] This is also "ideological", as shown by Lemche (1991a:106).

[23] This makes one wonder why the sexist term "gods" is used?

earlier periods, the types of the LB age are mostly armed and dressed. Whether some of the bronzes formed *divine couples* as argued by Schaeffer and Negbi[24] is not exactly certain.

These bronzes have been described as replicas of obliterated wooden cult statues, as votive idols, as amulets in domestic and funerary cults (Negbi 1976:2), as "prayers" placed in the place of worship (Seeden 1980:154) and as votive offerings (Seeden 1982:120). Technically the bronzes contained tangs or pegs and these served as tenons to be attached to a wooden base. **Cat 1.4** has a loop at the back for hanging (as an amulet?).

3.1.5 Ivories and ostraca

Ivory was the "white gold" (Gubel 1985)[25] of the Ancient Near East. Only two items discussed are of relevance here, but both are quite famous *objets d'art* from Ugarit: a pyxis and a relief (**Cat 2.7** and **3.11**). The relief (**Fig. 24a**) was described by Schaeffer as "The largest single-piece ivory carving to be found in the Near East: richly-carved panels from the bed of the king of Ugarit, 3300 years ago" (1954). Pope (1977:445) connected it with the "love inlay of Solomon's bed" in Cant 3:10. The total piece is a double carved panel consisting of 16 parts, 8 on each side (c. 240 mm high x 100-120 mm; total size 1 x 0,5 metre).

The medium of painting on limestone flakes is called *figured ostraca* or *pictorial sherds*.[26] It still is a question what exactly their function and purpose were (cf. Brunner-Traut 1979:7 and Peterson 1973:46). Possible interpretations are that these were cheap substitutes for stelae, as is especially the case with depictions of deities such as Astarte (**Cat 4.5-7**). In other cases the ostraca might have been draft sketches. Sometimes they were just drawings done very crudely on the spur of the moment. It is not clear if the ostraca under discussion were votives. Ostraca are usually connected with the private sphere, but when taking into account the popularity of the equestrian warrior goddess Astarte among the kings, the situation might have been different. On

[24] Cf. for the standing female **Cat 3.9** and the seated "Ilu" (**Fig. 17**) above under 2.3. A standing male (Negbi 1976:No. 1431) and the seated female **Cat 2.4** came from the same spot, but the first item is too damaged (perhaps female too?) to describe this also as a couple, as in Negbi (1976:42-43, Fig. 52). Cf. also Negbi's Fig. 130 and for joined figures Negbi Nos. 1-22. **Cat 5.28** was found with a "smiting god" bronze figurine (Negbi 1976:112-114, Figs. 127-128).

[25] Literature: Barnett (1982 for an overview, esp. 29-30 for Ugaritic items); Caubet & Poplin (1987 and 1992); Gachet (1992); Stéphan 1996 (chapter VI on Ugarit) and now Caubet (in Collins 2002:232ff.); also "Bone, ivory and shell" in Meyers (1997:1:335-350) and "Ivory" in Redford (2001:2:196-197).

[26] Cf. bibliography in Brunner-Traut (1979:82-83) and now Gasse (1986) and "Ostraca" in Redford (2001:2:621-622).

the other hand, some of the private representations might have been modelled on royal examples (Stadelmann 1967:104). Three items were studied and connected with the equestrian Astarte. In addition to the many seal-amulets (**Cat 4.8-26**), the ostracon is a unique medium for depictions of her.

If the terracotta plaques are unique to the naked woman with objects, then the ostraca are unique to Astarte.

3.2 *Provenances, find context and function*[27]

The items were found as far as locations between Buhen in the Sudan (**Cat 4.4a**) and Fekheryeh (**Cat 2.3**) on the Khabur River from south to north, and between Ulu Burun in Turkey (**Cat 5.29**) and Balu^{c}a in Jordan (**Cat 3.3**) from west to east. **Table 5** summarises the place of origin and the sites are indicated on **Maps 1a-b**.

We are in the dark regarding many of the items as far as their specific *find context* (palace, temple, tomb or house) is concerned (e.g. "water tunnel" at Gezer does not say much), which would be important in determining the *function* of the items.[28]

For the *inscribed* material the provenances are:

- *Anat*: from Egypt a stela (**Cat 1.1**), a re-used relief (**Cat 3.8**), a relief-column in Heliopolis (**Cat 1.7**), two Tanis statues (**Cat 2.1** and **3.7**), and a stela from Beisan in Palestine (**3.1**).
- *Astarte*: Egyptian stelae (**Cat 1.1a**, **1.8**, **3.4**, **3.5, 4.1**, **4.4**, **4.4a**) come from Saqqarah, Memphis, Tura, Abu Simbel, the tomb of Nefersekheru at Zawyet Sultan near Minya in Middle Egypt, DeM? and Buhen. One Egyptian relief is at Kanais in the Wadi Abbad (**Cat 4.2**), and a cylinder seal comes from Beitin in Palestine (**Cat 1.10**).
- "*Qedeshet*": Egyptian stelae (**Cat 5.1, 5.3-5.5, 5.7, 5.16-17**) presumably from DeM.

When the identifications proposed under 2 and 4.1.2 are followed, the other sites are:

- "*Qedeshet*": stelae (**Cat 5.2, 5.6**, **5.8-10, 5.14-15, 5.18, 5.26**) presumably from DeM, with one stela from Memphis (**Cat 5.10**, also **Cat 5.17**?), one presumably from Ihnasia el-Medina near Beni-Suef (**Cat 5.18**), a Cypriot cylinder seal (**Cat 5.11**), and

[27] For the sites involved cf. the relevant entries in *PM*, Stern (1993); Redford (2001) and Meyers (1997).

[28] On the whole problem of whether a site is cultic cf. Coogan (1987). For the question of whether figurines have a cultic function see Fowler (1985).

various pendants and terracottas from Ugarit and Palestine (cf. further under 3.2.2-3).

- *Astarte*: Stela **Cat 4.3** from the Ramesseum (Thebes), Egyptian ostraca (**Cat 4.5-7**, DeM?) and **Cat 3.12** from Akko. The seal-amulets are mostly of unknown origin (**Cat 4.8-4.26**).

Other items have a problematic identification. The bronzes come from Kamid el-Loz, the Biqa and Ugarit (**Cat 1.4-5, 2.4-5, 3.9**), the pendants **Cat 2.6a-b** and **3.10** from Ugarit and Beisan, the bulla from Fekheryeh (**Cat 2.3**), the stela (**Cat 1.9**), ivories (**Cat 2.7, 3.11**) and cylinder seals (**Cat 1.3, 2.2**) from Ugarit, and the stelae **Cat 3.2** and **3.3** from Beisan and Balu^{c}a.

3.2.1 Egypt

Of the total of 126 items in the catalogue, 13 are definitely from Egyptian sites, excluding many of the "Qedeshet" stelae, which might come from the workers' colony at Deir el-Medina.[29]

The Anat items from Tanis (**Cat 2.1, 3.7**) (*PM* IV:24) underwent a secondary set-up and were taken from Qantir (Per-Ramses), where she presumably had a temple. The Brooklyn relief of Anat (**Cat 3.8**) was earlier linked with Tanis (Cooney 1956:27-28), but according to the Museum records, it should be Saqqara (Lacau, cf. Habachi 1971:71). There was an especially close connection between Per-Ramses in the Delta and Anat (Uphill 1984:212 and van Sicelen 1991:134, n9).

Cat 1.1/5.1 is presumably from DeM (Spalinger 1978:516); Tanis (Bowman 1978:218) is a less likely origin. This stela was dedicated by the foreman Qaha "the justified" (who owned tomb 360 at DeM, see James 1970:46-48), shown with his sister, the lady of the house, Twy the justified and his son Any (James 1970:46).

The DeM stelae are today mostly scattered in different museums. These were private stelae which were placed in household shrines and in niches in the walls (Sadek 1987:77) or presumably they were originally set in recesses in the rock between DeM and the Valley of the Queens in front of which small chapels were built (Edwards 1955:51).

Cat 3.4 comes from the quarries at Tura and describes Astarte as the "foremost of *prw-nfr*", which is usually identified as Memphis (Helck 1970), but *Peru-Nefer* could have been a harbour of Avaris (Bietak 1996:82). Other texts mention the high priest of Baal and Astarte at *prw-nfr* (Helck 1971a:456; Pritchard 1969b:250). The Astarte stela **Cat 1.8** comes from the temple of

[29] On this site cf. Lesko (1994, esp. Ward 1994:61ff. on foreign elements) and now McDowell (2001) and the entry in Redford (2001:1:368-369).

Ptah at Memphis. The Astarte item from the tomb of Hetepka at Saqqarah (**Cat 1.1a**) van Siclen (1991) also connected with Memphis. "Qedeshet" is also depicted on a Memphite stela (**Cat 5.10**), where she was worshipped with Baal-Zaphon and Baalat, according to one Egyptian text (Pritchard 1969b:250). **Cat 3.8** functioned in a festival (Kitchen 1999:290), but was re-used in a private tomb.

3.2.2 Syria and Ugarit

The bulla **Cat 2.3** is from the soundings at Fekheryeh, but the north Syrian metropole Ugarit (and 1km from Ugarit its harbour Minet el-Beida) is the single site which has yielded the largest number of items (15) in various media:[30]

- Bronzes: **Cat 2.4-5, 3.9**
- Pendants: **Cat 2.6a-b**, **5.20, 5.20a** (?), **5.23, 5.27-28**
- Stela: **Cat 1.9**
- Ivories: **Cat 2.7, 3.1**
- Cylinder seals: **Cat 1.3, 2.2**
- Wall-bracket: **Cat 5.62**

The find spots are: the stela (**Cat 1.9**) from near the Baal temple, cylinder seals from tombs (**Cat 1.3, 2.2**), bronzes from a workshop in the southern city (**Cat 3.9**)[31], and ivories and metal pendants from tombs (**Cat 2.7**, **5.20**) and the royal palace (**Cat 3.11**). The bronze **Cat 2.4** comes from the "Hurrian temple", which was rather part of a royal sanctuary in the NW palace (Yon 1996:415) and **Cat 2.5** was found near the Baal temple on the acropolis in the NE.

Cat 1.4 comes from a *shrine* at Kamid el-Loz, which indicates something of its function.[32] A statuette of a menacing god from Ugarit is associated with objects coming from what has been described as a "domestic

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[30] On the find locations cf. North (1973); Courtouis (1974); Gachet (1992:67-68 with Fig. 1) and the maps in Yon (1991 and 1997) (**Map 2**). Especially the present location of objects found at Minet el-Beida is a problem (Gachet 1992:67; cf. Yon 1997a). The objects are today scattered between Aleppo, Damascus, Latakia and the Louvre in Paris (where half of the objects from the excavations from the period before WW II are kept). Cf. the overviews of finds from Ugarit in Caubet (1996); Courtouis (1979); Watson & Wyatt (1999); Xella (1984) and Yon (1992, 1997 and in Meyers 1997:5:235ff.). More popular overviews appear in the book by von Reden (1992) and in the illustrated journals *BAR* 9/5 (1983), *Le Monde de la Bible* 48 (1987) and 120 (1999), *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63/4 (2000) and *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 23/1 (2002).

[31] Found near to male figurines: **Cat 2.4** with Negbi (1976:No 1431: male?) and **Cat 3.9** with **Fig. 17**; cf. 2.3 and Negbi (1976:114-116).

[32] It was found with a male "smiting god". Kühne (1980) connected the group of bronzes from Kamid el-Loz with Ilu (seated), Anat (female standing menacing) and Baal or Reshep (male standing menacing).

shrine" (Moorey & Fleming 1984:77), but whether this is also true of the other menacing bronzes is unclear.

One item comes from Cyprus (**Cat 5.11**) and is very important in the study of "Qedeshet" (2.5). **Cat 5.29** is a metal pendant from the Ulu Burun wreck from the coast of Turkey near Kas and Rodes (Bass 1989; Pulak 1997). It was part of the cargo for international trade in the Mediterranean (Cline 1994) and was presumably one of the religious effigies which played a role in the religion of the seafarers (Brody 1998; the same is true of **Fig. 21**, cf. 2.3) who could have travelled from the east (Ugarit?) to the Aegean.

3.2.3 Palestine

Older excavations give rise to problems in dating objects. This is the case with the stratigraphy of Beisan and the so-called Egyptian temples there (Zwickel 1994:173ff., cf. chronology in Thompson 1970 and Wimmer 1990:1077ff.). The dating of the terracottas is a problem and the data provided by Pritchard will have to be re-evaluated (Kamlah 1993:111n35); many of the items represented in Macalister (Gezer) should be dated in the LB age, as shown by Holland (1975:I:101-102).

The Egyptian-controlled centre of Beisan yielded two stelae and one metal pendant (**Cat 3.1-2**, **3.10**). Most of the "Qedeshet" terracottas (2.5) come from urban centres in the lowlands of Southern Palestine as shown on **Map 1b**.[33] Gezer (9) and Beth-Shemesh (4) have yielded the most items of this type. The find context is mostly unclear (cf. Dever 1987:226), with a few exceptions. The terracotta **Cat 5.24** hails from a silo. **Cat 5.38** comes from the potter's workshop at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:291ff.) and **Cat 5.55** from the Lachish "fosse" temple.[34] Not much can be ascertained from the find context to help in determining their *religious function* (cf. 4.4). Pritchard (1943:87) argued that the figurines come from private houses rather than from places connected with the cult. Holland (1977:134) claimed some association with the cult. Winter (1987:128-129) showed that the female figurines come from tombs, but also houses and cultic installations, mostly from dwellings. In his recent study of the *Pillar Figurines* Kletter (1996:Chap VIII) concluded that such figurines were found in all contexts of human activity, mostly domestic, and not necessarily cultic (cf. Kletter 1996:62 and the tables 147ff.). Whether the "Qedeshet" plaques functioned in the "house cult" is unknown. Such plaques might have functioned in the sphere of family religion. These objects

[33] Cf. Kamlah (1993:111) and Keel & Uehlinger (1998:108) with regard to Palestinian origins in general.

[34] That this is a temple was questioned by Ottoson (1980:81ff.), but cf. against his views those of Zwickel (1994:99-100) and Coogan (1987:4).

have been connected with the religious experiences of women (Winter 1987:134) or reflecting an initiation of the women into the family (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:122; Uehlinger 1998-2001:57-58). It is not known whether items from tombs belonged to women. Many such plaques are known, but it is an exaggeration to claim that there was indeed "one or more in every home in all probability" (Wright 1962:112).[35]

When the terracotta items from various regions are compared and the items of unknown provenance are also brought into account, the following picture emerges:

The items from Bet Shemesh are very similar (**Cat 5.52** and **5.53**) as are the two figures with the feathered headdress from Tell Beit Mirsim (**Cat 5.40** and **5.57**). Tell ed-Duweir **Cat 5.38** has the same hairdo as the broken **Cat 5.55** from the same site. **Cat 5.34** (Tel Batash) is very similar to Gezer (**Cat 5.59**) and might be technically related (as shown above 3.1.3). The item of unknown provenance **Cat 5.58** is similar to **Cat 5.59** from Gezer and might come from this site; the same might then be true of the Gezer **Cat 5.46** and **Cat 5.60** figures with the same scroll pattern.

One metal pendant comes from a tomb at Akko (**Cat 5.21**) and the famous foil from the Lachish temple **Cat 5.22** has been dealt with above (3.1.3).

The political function of the Anat and Astarte items from Egypt which are connected with specific pharaohs (cf. 3.5) is quite clear. The two Egyptian stelae (**Cat 3.1-2**) from Beisan are Egyptian in style and the first one is dedicated to an Egyptian official. Whether a direct political meaning should be given to the Balu^{c}a stela (**Cat 3.3**) is purely speculative and it is also unclear how the relief can depict "the act by which the government of Balu^{c}a was handed over to the conquerors by the deity and his spouse" (van Zyl 1960:110-111). This might have been a commemorative stela (Dearman 1992:71), but the inscription is illegible.

Every possible attempt has been made to trace the *present location* of each item (cf. **Table 6**). Some items are still at the find spot, e.g. **Cat 1.7**, **3.5**, and **Cat 4.2**. **Cat 4.1** were left in the tomb[36] and **Cat 3.4** is lost.[37] One item (Akko pendant **Cat 5.21**) is said to be stolen (B Brandl IAA, letter 19/6/1996) and the much-discussed Winchester stela (**Cat 5.16**), which Edwards (1955) published, is not at its present location (letter from J Falconer 5/5/1996); presumably it has been auctioned (Hadley 2000:191n15).

[35] Perhaps our strict distinctions between sacred and secular sectors are too rigid?
[36] According to a letter from Osing (21/4/1996).
[37] Letter from Stadelmann (cf. 2.3).

3.3 *Attributes*[38]

3.3.1 Headdress[39] and clothing[40]

atef (S8)	*double crown (S5)*

The Egyptian *atef* crown (Abubakr 1937:7ff.; Daviau & Dion 1994:160-161; Wyatt 1983:275-276), which refers to the white crown of Upper Egypt with two *maat* feathers, a sundisk and horns, is worn by Osiris. It occurs quite often with Anat (**Cat 1.1, 1.7, 2.1, 3.1, 3.8**) and Astarte (**Cat 1.1a, 1.10, 3.4-6, 4.1-4.4, 4.8-13**, **4.15-21**), but also on **Cat 1.2-4, 2.5, 3.3**. In some cases horns extend to the side (**Cat 1.1a, 1.6-7, 2.1, 3.2, 4.20**) and have streamers/bands. The bronze **Cat 1.5** has the horns set against the crown. **Cat 1.2, 1.10** have the *atef* crown with streamers. There is a white crown with ureaus and streamer on **Cat 4.4a** and a white crown on **Cat 4.14**. The Egyptian double crown is on **Cat 4.22-26**.[41] The crown of **Cat 1.8** is damaged. On **Cat 2.2** the crown is a horned headdress with a knob (cf. **Fig. 15**), on **Cat 2.3** a rounded cap with long lock of hair. The figure on **Cat 2.6a-b** and **3.10** has long hair and on the ostraca **Cat 4.5-6** there is a different hairdo. The seated goddess on the ivory **Cat 2.7** has a diadem with a curl of hair in front.

The suckling goddess **Cat 3.11** has Hathor locks (also **Cat 3.13**) with large horns and a sundisk (also **Cat 3.8a**). The figure on **Cat 2.4** wears a type of turban.

The *Hathor* hairdo[42] is typical of "Qedeshet", as shown under 2.5 and the detail will not be repeated. There is great variety in the way in which the Hathor hairdo is represented, from the heavy wig on **Cat 5.20** and **Cat 5.32** to the flatter type of **Cat 5.23** and **Cat 5.35** to the "spiral locks" of **Cat 5.46**.With the "Qedeshet" *stelae* there are crowns on her Hathor hairdo. The damaged headdress on **Cat 5.1** might have looked like the ones on items **Cat 5.3-5, 5.18**. **Cat 5.17** is the best example of the Hathor wig with sistrum/naos and

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[38] Cf. the entry "Insignias" in Redford (2001:2:163-167) which deals with thrones, sceptres, standards and weapons.

[39] Cf. "Crowns" in Redford (2001:1:321-326).

[40] Cf. Zoffili (1992), "Clothing and personal adornment" in Redford (2001:1:274-279) and on the clothing of Ugaritic goddesses Korpel (1990:364ff.).

[41] Keel *et al.* (1990:308, Fig. 80) gives the wrong impression of the crown.

[42] Cf. Cross (1973:34); Keel & Uehlinger (1998:77ff.); Schroer (1989:139ff.); Sanmartin (1980) and "Hairstyles" in Redford (2001:2: espec. 74-75). Maier (1983:88-90, 95-96) accepted the argument of Albright that because of the Hathor hairdo the figure could be linked with the "lady of Byblos" and might be Asherah. The Byblos lady is rather Astarte.

volutes (cf. **Cat 5.7-8, 10-12**, perhaps **Cat 5.16**) with crescent moon and disk on top. There might be *lunar* symbolism involved as indicated by the crescent moon, although the larger disk on most items is more comparable to the *sundisk* of Hathor. “Qedeshet” is called child and eye of Ra and eye of Atum (**Cat 5.3-5.4**).

The headdress on **Cat 5.22** could rather be the Upper Egyptian *anedjtj*, which Abubakr (1937:18-23, Pl. 10, 38) describes as a crown with two ostrich feathers between two cow horns on two ram’s horns; here there are four feathers. The pendants **Cat 5.20a-21** and **5.27** show a horned headdress. **Cat 5.29** does not have the typical headdress; Western influences might be indicated (cf. e.g. Böhm 1990:Pl. 12), but cf. the goddess at Anatolian Yazilikayah (cf. Pilz 1924:Pl. I:Fig. 24; van Loon 1985:Pl. XXXI, Fig. 5) and the terracottas (not “Qedeshet”) in Pilz Fig. 25 and Pritchard (1969:Nos. 467 and 469:4, 6).

Variants on the terracottas are the feathered headdress on **Cat 5.40**, **5.57**, which never occur on the Egyptian reliefs and it is presumably a Palestinian adaptation. **Cat 5.13** shows a different kind of horned headdress with long hair. **Cat 5.32** has an elaborate headdress consisting of a Hathor frisure (with hair-clips, cf. **Cat 5.26**) with *atef* crown and horns.

The figures are barefoot and the long tight-fitting dress is very common to most of the items, but (obviously) not with the naked equestrian Astarte (2.4) and “Qedeshet” (2.5). **Cat 3.10** is also naked, but **Cat 4.15** has lines on the body which might indicate clothing (?).

There is a flowing garment on the Beisan item **Cat 3.2**, with a worshipper wearing the same clothes. The clothes remind one of Ankhsen-Amen, wife of Tutankh-Amen (Pritchard 1969:No. 415, cf. No. 407). The Balu^{c}a goddess (**Cat 3.3**) also has a long flowing dress (cf. Ward & Martin 1964:16 with comparative Pl. VI:Fig. 3). A long dress (cf. Merhav & Ornan 1979) with “rolled borders” or “thickened coil” is shown on the bronzes **Cat 2.4** and **3.9** (cf. Collon 1975:168; Schroer 1985 and Merhav 1988). Dever (1984:23) compared the speckled dress of the seated “goddess” on **Cat 2.6a** with the figure with the “polka-dotted” dress of the figure on the Kuntilet Ajrud drawing (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 220). There are collars and necklaces on many of the items: **Cat 1.1, 1.4**, **2.7, 3.2, 3.8a**, **2.5**; also with “Qedeshet” (**Cat 5.16, 20, 27, 58-59a**). Other decorations are armlets/bracelets/anklets: **Cat 5.3, 5.29, 5.32, 5.38**, and earrings and amulets on **Cat 4.5** (cf. **Cat 4.5-6**). There are belts on **Cat 1.4, 1.6, 3.8a, 3.11**, a knot on **Cat 1.2**, and also an Isis knot on **Cat 2.5**. The stela **Cat 4.3**, identified as Astarte on horseback, shows warrior cross-bands as with Ishtar and Reshep (Cornelius 1994:249 with Pl. 5). **Cat 5.16** (“Qedeshet”) shows a black girdle,

which is not always indicated on the line-drawings (cf. **Cat 5.14**?). **Cat 3.7** (Anat) has a sash with ribbons and the figure of **Cat 1.9** wears a winged dress as is found with Egyptian goddesses and queens (2.1.3). The skirt on **Cat 2.7** is decorated as on **Cat 3.11-13**, **2.4** and **1.4**.

In some cases Anat is shown with exposed breast(s) as the sitting figure (**Cat 1.1**) and on the Tanis stela, where she is standing (**Cat 3.7**), comparable to the later stela **Fig. 11**). This is also the case on the bronze **Cat 2.4**. On the ivories **Cat 2.7** and **3.11** (suckling goddess) the figure is topless.

Needless to say, "Qedeshet" is stark naked. The Louvre item **Cat 3.13/5.30** shows the one winged figure dressed and the one on the other side holding flowers naked.

3.3.2 Weapons, sceptres and symbols

axe (T7)	*mace (T2)*	*shield/weapon (D34)*	*was (S40)*	*sun-shade (S35)*	*ankh (S34)*	*sundisk N58*	*udjat (D10)*

There are *seven* armed Astarte figures (**Cat 1.1a, 1.8, 1.10, 4.1-4.2, 4.4-4.4a**), *more* than the *two* of Anat (**Cat 1.1, 1.7**) if we use only the items with their *names* on them. The weapons[43] of Anat and Astarte are of various types.

On the items with the names of the goddesses the following weapons are typical:

- *Anat* wields a spear and shield held together (**Cat 1.1**; cf. **Figs. 3** and **8**) or holds a fenestrated battle axe (**Cat 1.7**).
- *Astarte* holds a spear (**Cat 1.10**) and a curved shield (**Cat 1.1a, 1.8**). The hand-weapon held and wielded above the head on **Cat 1.1a** is unclear (perhaps the mace, hieroglyph T2?). The riding figure uses hand weapons (**Cat 4.1**), wields a similar hand weapon and shield above her head (**Cat 4.2**) and holds a shield and spear in front, while wielding a pear-shaped mace above her head (**Cat 4.4a**). Only Astarte carries the *bow* (**Cat 4.4**, cf. **Figs. 5**, **10**). Other unnamed figures which have been identified as Astarte figures wield a hand weapon (**Cat 4.3**, **4.8-4.14,**

43 Cf. Shaw (1991); Partridge (2002) and entries "Military: material" in Redford (2001:2:407ff.) and "Weapons and warfare" in Meyers (1997:5:334-339) for the various types of weapons.

4.19-20) and a bow (**Cat 4.5**). One item (**Cat 1.6**) might be a representation of Astarte in a *chariot*.

The figure on the unidentified **Cat 1.2** wields a hand weapon and **Cat 1.9** holds a spear, but the bronzes (**Cat 1.4-1.6**) have no weapons.

On **Cat 1.1** the shield has a frame and on **Cat 4.4a** it is a very small shield.

The Egyptian w*as* sceptre which occurs with deities is presumably shown with Anat (**Cat 3.1**) and clearly with Astarte (**Cat 3.4**; cf. unknown goddess **Cat 3.10**). Astarte holds a pluriform sceptre (**Cat 3.5**) and cf. also **Cat 3.2.** A standard with a bird appears on **Cat 2.3** (**Fig. 16**); cf. parallels in Cornelius (1994:170n3) and the Bubastis vase **Fig. 20**.

Deities holding the Egyptian life-symbol (*ankh*) is also typical and in the catalogue it is found with Anat (**Cat 1.7, 3.1**) and Astarte (**Cat 3.4-5,** lost on **Cat 3.6**) and also on **Cat 1.9** (?) and **Cat 3.2**. The *sun-shade* as symbol of protection (Bell 1985)[44] is shown with the menacing Astarte (**Cat 1.1a**), and with the riding Astarte on **Cat 4.4** and the Fribourg scarab **Cat 4.19**. There are winged sundisks[45] on **Cat 4.4** and **Cat 1.8**. Egyptian *udjat* eyes occur on **Cat 4.22-23, 26**.

Stars are seen on the background of the Ugarit pendant **Cat 5.20** (not holes for a game as in Vermaak 1995) and stela **Cat 5.17** shows six circles (Wyatt 1984:337: the seven heavenly bodies (?)). The figure of **Cat 5.23** stands on a crescent moon and stars and **Cat 5.28** has stars on the left side (cf. Winter 1987:114). "Qedeshet" is a "mistress of the stars" and "lady of the stars of heaven" (cf. 3.4.3). **Cat 5.37** has a rosette/encircled star (cf. **Fig. 40**) and **Cat 5.46** and **5.60** a scroll-like pattern. On **Cat 3.3** there is a crescent moon between the goddess (her symbol?) and the male god. Reference was made to a possible lunar symbolism with regard to the crescent moon on the stelae (3.3.1). Brody (1998:97) linked the lunar symbolism with seafaring, but because of the link between *qdsh* and Asherah.

On **Cat 1.1** Anat sits on a low-backed throne and on **Cat 2.1** there is a large throne.[46] There are also thrones on **Cat 2.3** and **2.6a-b**. Only the pegs on the bronzes **Cat 2.4-5** remain. The throne/seat of **Cat 2.7** is unclear (cf. Metzger 1983:55ff.).

[44] Also with Reshep (cf. Cornelius 1994:Pls. 9, 15:RR11 and 21).

[45] For the symbolism cf. Wyatt (1984) and Mayer-Opificius (1984). Cf. the *armed* Assyrian god with a bow in a winged sundisk (Pritchard 1969:No. 536).

[46] Cf. Killen (1980); Kuhlmann (1977:69ff., 82-83); Metzger (1985:nos. 105ff.) and Gubel (1987:129ff.).

The figures on **Cat 2.2, 3.11-3.13** and **4.22-26** are *winged*. The last five items were identified as Astarte figures on a horse (as with **Cat 3.12**), but the traditional identification of **Cat 2.2, 3.11** with Anat has been questioned.

3.3.3 Pose and gestures

In this study the position of the figures were used to identify the different iconographic *types* as discussed in Chapter 2: menacing[47], armed, standing unarmed, seated, equestrian and "Qedeshet" with arms in the V position holding plants and serpents.

The goddesses are shown in a variety of poses and gestures. The armed Anat (**Cat 1.1**) and Astarte (**Cat 1.1a**) are shown brandishing weapons in a *menacing* way (cf. A59 hieroglyph). **Cat 1.3-6** show no weapon. This might be missing on the bronzes **Cat 1.4-6**, but as argued (Cornelius 1994:255; 1999b:269) the gesture of *power* is in itself of importance. On the victory column from the Libyan war of Merenptah **Cat 1.7** Anat hands over the weapon to the pharaoh wearing the blue war crown. The goddess addresses the king: "Take for thee thy mace that thou mayest kill thy rebels" (Bakry 1973:10). This was an important gesture in Egyptian war iconography and ideology.[48]

The *blessing* goddess holds her hand with the open side towards the worshipper on **Cat 2.3**, **2.5**, **3.9-10** and the comparable **Figs**. **13-14** (cf. **Figs. 17-18** but not **21**). On many of the stelae (**Cat 1.1**, **3.1-2**, **4.3**, **5.2-4** [and on the reverse side], **Cat 5.7-8**, **5.14-15**) *worshippers* are shown with their hands in gestures of prayer/adoration[49] as in the Egyptian hieroglyphs for worship and praise/adoration (hieroglyphs A30, A1, A3, A4):

The goddess on **Cat 3.11** suckles two princes and the seated goddess (**Cat 2.7**) feeds animals.

Astarte is on horseback (**Cat 4.1-26**).[50] In all the cases there is no clear saddle, but the horse is ridden bareback. Two cases show her riding lady-like side-saddle (**Cat 4.1, 4.4** and **4.8**), astride **Cat 4.5**), but on the seal-amulets

[47] Cf. Cornelius (1994:52, 255-259); add now also Wilkinson (1991-1992) and Petrovic (2001).

[48] Cornelius (1994:157-8 with literature); add now Cornelius (1995:19-21, 1999b:269), Schulman (1994) and Keel (1999).

[49] On gestures in Egyptian iconography cf. Brunner-Traut in *LdÄ* II (1977:573ff.); Wilkinson (1994:170ff.) and on the symbolism of hands in Western Asia Mittmann (1997:30ff. for worshippers).

[50] Cf. Rommelaere (1991) for detailed description of the horse types, posture, way of riding, etc.

also standing (**Cat 4.15-18, 21-26**). To get an idea of how the horse was ridden without saddle but only holding the reins, cf. the model (Rommelaere 1991:No. 97) and the relief in Edinburgh (Rommelaere No. 96; cf. Schulman 1957:Figs. 1-5). On Rommelaere No. 99 the rider is holding the horse by the mane (?). On the Edgerton ostrakon a knee is lifted (Rommelaere No. 120).

"Qedeshet" stands on lions (**Cat 5.1-25**), horses (**Cat 5.13, 22**) or is depicted without an animal pedestal (**Cat 5.26-62**).

To *summarize*: the menacing seated Anat, the menacing standing Astarte, the unarmed seated Anat; and "Qedeshet" on the lion are unique. In the other instances both Anat and Astarte are shown as armed and all three goddesses are shown standing unarmed. "Qedeshet" is holding flowers, serpents or horned animals, while the other two hold weapons and sceptres. "Qedeshet" stands on a horse and Astarte rides or stands/kneels on horseback.

3.3.4 Animals and plants

lion (M9)	*horse (E6)*	*lily/lotus (M9)*	*papyrus (M13)*

Various animals[51] occur with the goddesses. *Lions* are very clear on the "Qedeshet" stelae and pendants (**Cat 5.1-5.20a**) and terracottas (**Cat 5.24-25**). *Horses* occur with the riding Astarte on stelae and ostraca (**Cat 4.1-4.7**). The animals are a bit unclear on the cylinder seals and scarabs[52] (**Cat 4.8-26**), but the lion and horse can be distinguished (as on **Cat 4.8** and **4.21** where *both* animals are shown). The horse has a hanging more bushy tail and is shown with feathers/plumes on the headdress. The lion has the upward-curling tail. The lion on **Cat 5.21** and **5.27** is not clearly visible.

Some lions are shown with a harness (**Cat 5.14, 5.17**) and other with a rosette (whorl) on the shoulder (presumably of Mesopotamian origin)[53] on **Cat 5.3. 5.14** (very clear) and pendant **Cat 5.20**. There are four interpretations:

- hair-tufts
- decorations
- sun symbolism
- star constellation.

[51] On animals in the ANE in general cf. now Collins (2002), also Janowski *et al.* (1993 with bibliographies) and Keel & Staubli (2001); on Egypt cf. Osborn & Osbornová (1998). Literature on horses were quoted under 2.4, cf. article "Felines" in Redford (2001:1:513ff.).

[52] Cf. Sass & Uehlinger (1993:221ff.).

[53] It also occurs on the Beisan lions (Pritchard 1969:No. 228; Thompson 1970:101ff.). Cf. discussion in Edwards (1955:53-54); Wilkinson (1989) and Winter (1987:114n119).

The mane of the lion on the colourful **Cat 5.3** is very clear. Edwards (1955:50) reiterated on the paws of the lion on **Cat 5.16** and showed that the gait is represented quite naturally. **Cat 5.14** even has the lion with its tongue hanging out! It is interesting that the lions (on the only items of "Qedeshet" from Palestine with a lion) on **Cat 5.24-25** are not striding as on the Egyptian and Ugaritic material, but reclining. Only on **Cat 5.20** and **20a** does the lion face to the left in contrast to the others striding to the right. There is a lion on one cylinder seal (**Cat 5.11**).

The *horses* on the Astarte material are mostly galloping, but also proudly prancing[54] (**Cat 4.2**). **Cat 5.13** is damaged at the back, but note the bridle. **Cat 5.22** shows a horse with a caparison. The feather decorations on the head are sometimes very unclear. These are more clearly on **Cat 4.1**, where there are four feathers and there are large ones on **Cat 5.22**. They look like plants on the scarabs (**Cat 4.13-13a, 15-17**). Reins are shown on **Cat 4.4, 4.6-7** and **4.13a**.

These war horses can be compared with the many representations of pharaohs in war chariots pulled by horses from Egypt (e.g. Cornelius 1994:Fig. 21 = **Fig. 53**).[55]

Both a *steer* and a *lion* are shown on **Cat 2.2**. The *dove* which occurs on **Cat 2.3** has been interpreted as a symbol of love flying between the weather god and his consort (Keel & Uehlinger 1996:126). On **Cat 4.8** the goddess is on *horseback,* but there are also lions, a steer and an ibex (large curved horns).

Serpents (Buchholz 2000; Keel 1992a:195ff.) occur with "Qedeshet" only (2.5 with **Table 3a-b**). This is typical of the Egyptian material, where she is holding the serpents in most cases. There are no examples from Syria-Palestine of her holding serpents, but there are serpents on both sides of her on **Cat 5.20**.

The goddess on the ivory **Cat 2.7** is feeding what look like *goats*. Horned animals are held by "Qedeshet" in various cases. There are horned animals (rams?) on **Cat 5.20a, 5.27**. **Cat 5.11** and **Cat 5.20, 29** have gazelles (cf. the S-formed horns which are well-known for Reshep on **Cat 5.1, 5.3, 5.4, 5.7** and see also Cornelius 1994:53, 68). Whether the gazelle on the head of Reshep has anything to do with the figure of "Qedeshet" holding gazelles (cf. Haas 1994:358) is unclear. Reshep *stands* on horned animals (Cornelius 1994:Pls. 30-31, 49-50:RM21-39, BM57-63, 66-67) and *holds* an animal as the "lord of animals" (Cornelius 1994:124, Pl. 31:BM40). In Istanbul there is an unpublished terracotta (5509 PT = **Pl. C**) depicting a framed naked woman

[54] As on the seal impressions published by Barkay (1992).
[55] Cf. Pritchard (1969:Nos. 314-316, 318, 327-328, with fans on 314-316, 318).

with her arms hanging down. Above her head are *horned animals* flanking a tree. Is this related to the "Qedeshet" figure holding horned animals?

Plants and flowers[56] occur mostly with "Qedeshet" (2.5), but also on **Cat 2.6a-b, 2.7 and 3.8a**. As has been shown, the identification of the flowers are not always that clear, especially not with the terracottas. On the Egyptian stelae there are clearly lotuses or (better) lilies. What is usually called the lotus *šsn* is rather a water-lily (Harer 2001 and Ossian 1999). The true lotus came to Egypt only in the Persian Period. On the stelae there are cases where the flower has a clear loop (**Cat 5.1**). Lilies/lotuses occur on the terracottas, but so also papyrus plants. The figure is sometimes framed by plants. As has been shown (2.5.3), there are plants and not serpents on **Cat 5.37**.

The lotus/lily and papyrus plants which "Qedeshet" holds were believed to have medicinal healing powers (Harer 1985; Manniche 1989:99-100 and 126-127)[57]. Perhaps this could be linked with Reshep as a god of healing, but she mostly holds the serpents towards Reshep and the flowers towards Min, the god of sexual potency.

3.4 *Titles*

Here only the *titles* of the goddesses involved which occur on the iconographic material in the catalogue will receive attention. No detailed discussion of the pharaonic and other names with titles is undertaken.[58]

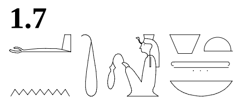
3.4.1 Anat

1.1

ʿnt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw sꜣ ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs ḥꜣ.z nb

= "Anat, lady of heaven. Mistress of the gods. (May) all protection, life, stability, power and dominion be with her".

1.7

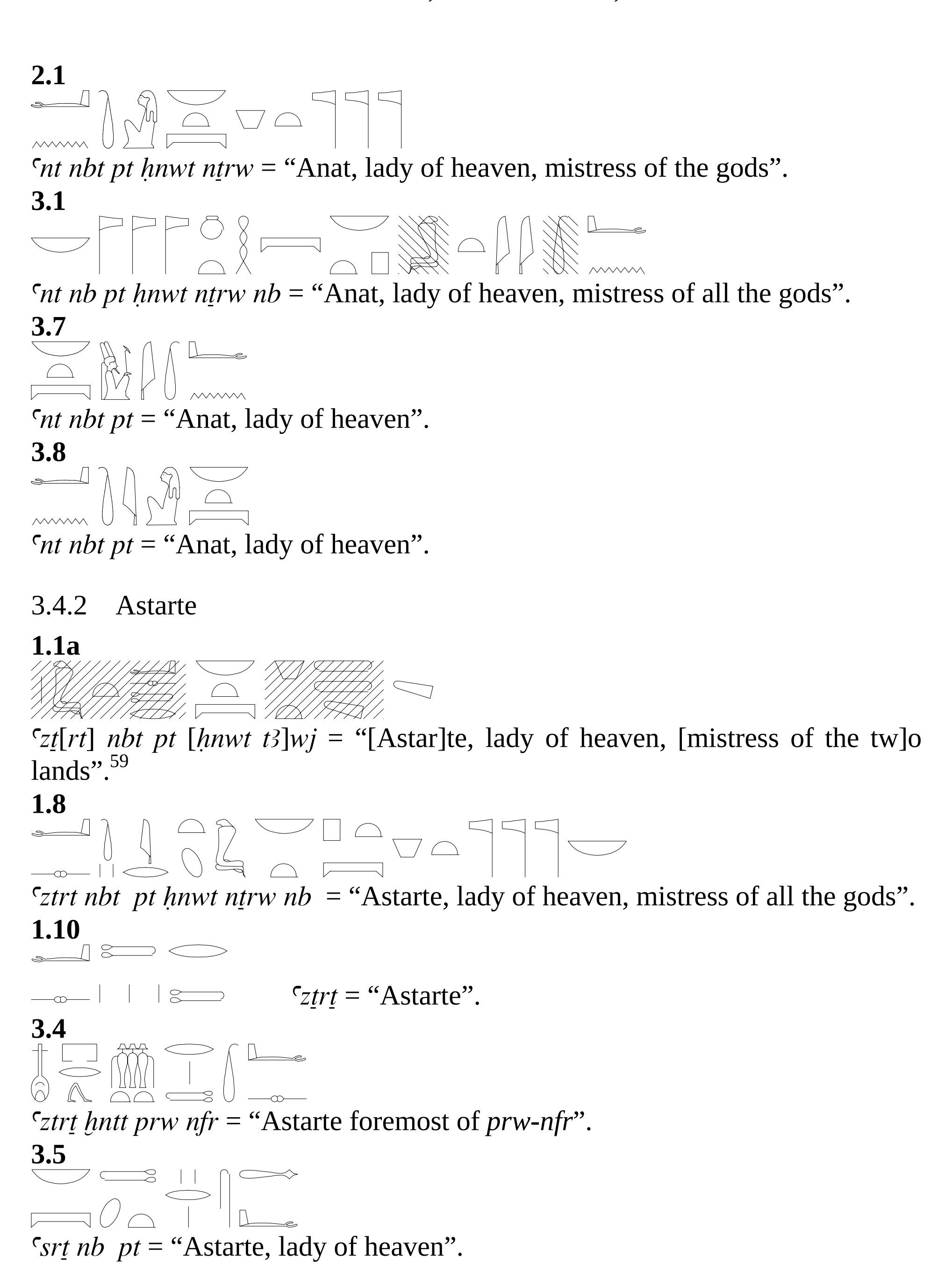


ʿnt ḥnwt tꜣ nb = "Anat, mistress of every land".

[56] Cf. Manniche (1989); Schoske (1992); Neumann-Gorsolke & Riede (2002).

[57] Manniche even referred to a variety of the lotus which was taken to reduce libido (!).

[58] This is mostly dealt with in the publications of the Egyptian stelae, i.e. James (1970) and Edwards (1955) and in Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions* (1975-1983), with translations (1993-2000).



2.1

ʿnt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw = “Anat, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods”.

3.1

ʿnt nb pt ḥnwt nṯrw nb = “Anat, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods”.

3.7

ʿnt nbt pt = “Anat, lady of heaven”.

3.8

ʿnt nbt pt = “Anat, lady of heaven”.

3.4.2 Astarte

1.1a

ʿzṯ[*rt*] *nbt pt* [*ḥnwt tꜣ*]*wj* = “[Astar]te, lady of heaven, [mistress of the tw]o lands”.[59]

1.8

ʿztrt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nb = “Astarte, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods”.

1.10

ʿzṯrṯ = “Astarte”.

3.4

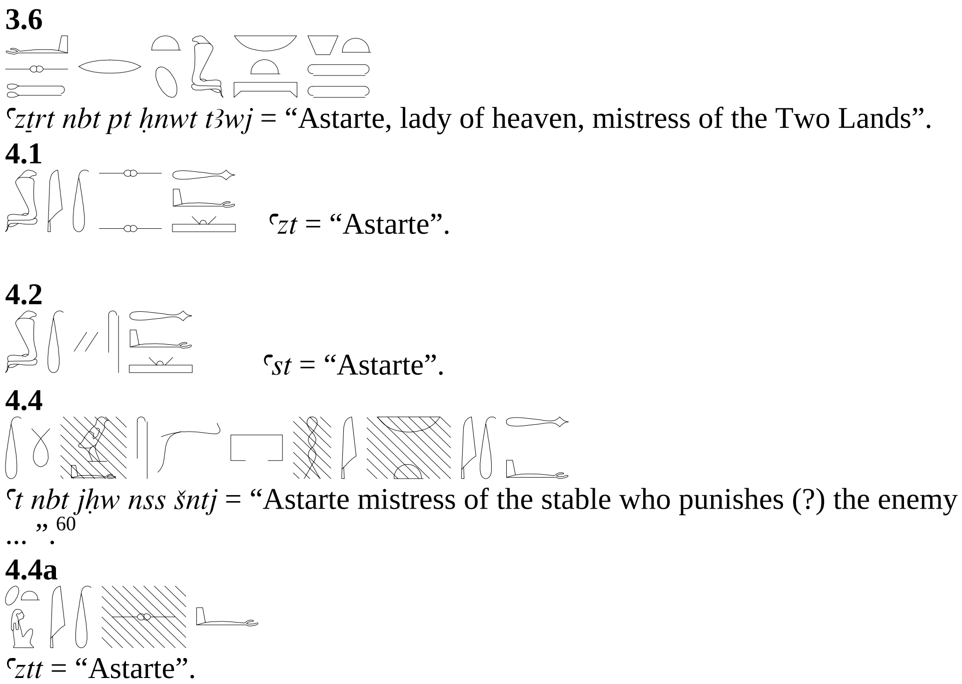
ʿztrṯ ḫntt prw nfr = “Astarte foremost of *prw-nfr*”.

3.5

ʿsrṯ nb pt = “Astarte, lady of heaven”.

[59] Following the reconstruction of van Sicelen, earlier read as “Anat” (cf. 2.1). The remains of the third sign looks like a *ṯ* as with the name of the goddess Astarte on **Cat 1.10**, **3.6** rather than the *n* of Anat (3.4.1).

3.6



ꜥzṯrt nbt pt ḥnwt tꜣwj = “Astarte, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands”.

4.1

ꜥzt = “Astarte”.

4.2

ꜥst = “Astarte”.

4.4

ꜥt nbt jḥw nss šntj = “Astarte mistress of the stable who punishes (?) the enemy ... ”.[60]

4.4a

ꜥztt = “Astarte”.

In contrast to the items where the name is written as *ꜥz*/*st*/*ṯrt*/*ṯ* (**Cat 1.1a, 1.8, 1.10, 3.4, 3.6**), in all cases (**Cat 4.1-4.4a)** which have been identified as representing the *riding* Astarte (2.4), the name of the goddess is written without “r” (i.e. **Cat 4.4a** **astat* or **4.2** **asat* and **4.4** only **ata*; also with the later Hibis Astarte **Fig. 10** but again with “r” on the items from Tod and Edfu **Figs. 12** and **32**).

The reading of the hieroglyphs has been dealt with by various scholars.[61] Mercer was very sceptical about an identification with Astarte (cf. also Herrmann 1999:92) and Helck argued for Ishtar, but this was rejected by Stadelmann (1967:99) who read Ashti /Asit as a variant for Astarte. There is no need to create a new goddess (cf. Kitchen 1993:63! and 1996 Notes:498). The writing of the name in hieroglyphs can be connected with the more common Northwest Semitic Astarte (Mesopotamian-Akkadian Ishtar) as clearly demonstrated by Weippert (1975). In later Phoenician texts a goddess with the shortened name *ꜥšt* in the name *Bd-ꜥšt* (for *Bd-ꜥš*[*tr*]*t*) is also known; she is without doubt the goddess Astarte.

[60] Following the reading of Dominicus in Osing (1992:23).

[61] Mercer (1935:195ff.); Leclant (1960); Stadelmann (1967:99ff.); Helck (1971:213ff. and 1971a:492-494); Weippert (1975, reprint 1997:25ff.); Dominicus (in Osing 1992:23) and Leitz (2002:II:212).

The reading of **Cat 4.4** is especially problematic (Leclant: “graphie défectueuse d’Astarté” [1960:34], which is accepted by Stadelmann [1967:102-103]). Helck (1971:214) even proposed reading “Anat”, but was sceptical because the date is too early for Anat. Anat is usually written with an *n* (3.4.1). The title is translated by Tosi & Rocatti (1971:104) and Sadek (1987:156n5) as “Astarte who throws arrows against the enemies”, and by Pope (1965:251) as “Astarte, lady of battle, goddess of the Asians”. The reconstruction and reading of Dominicus (in Osing 1992:23) is followed: “^{c}t, Herrin des Stalles, die den Feind bestraft”.

Herrmann (1999:93) read “Asherah” on **Cat 3.5** because of the missing first “t”, but as this goddess was otherwise unknown in Egypt, such a reading does not make sense.

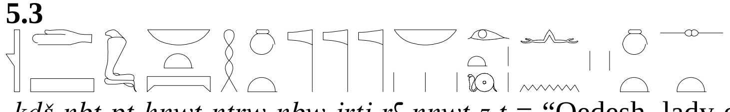
3.4.3 “Qedeshet”

5.1

kšt nbt pt = “Ke(d)eshet, lady of heaven”.

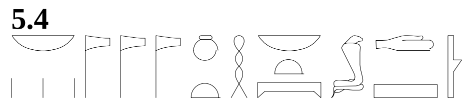
There has been speculation on the earlier reading *k-n-t* (“Kenet”) by James (1970:47) and Helck (1968-1969:23) as a variant for Qedesh/et and Leibovitch (1961:23ff.) related it to the city of Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend) Kinza, but this is read as merely a writing mistake *k-*(*d*)*-š-t*. Kitchen (2000:413) translated Kasht and Nigel Strudwick of the *BM* confirmed that it is an *š* and not an *n* (e-mail: 12/2/2003); compare the *š* in the name of Reshep (and personal examination in the BM).

5.3



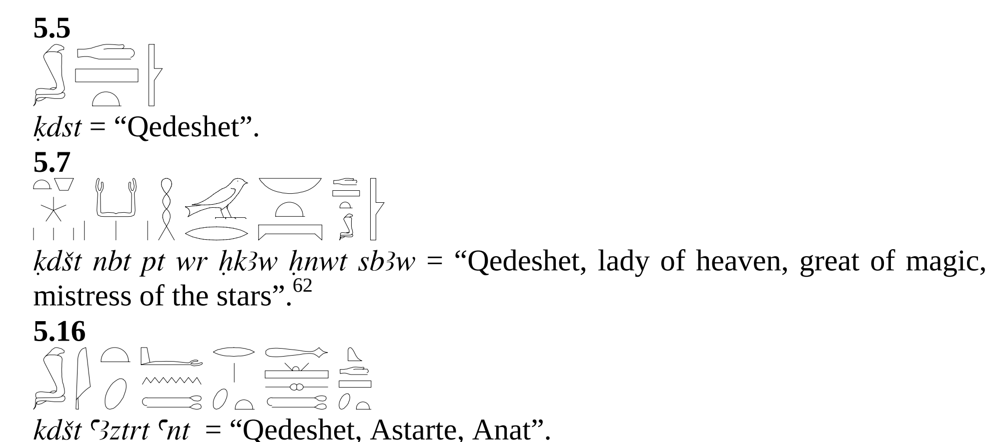
ḳdš nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw jrtj r^{c} nnwt z.t = “Qedesh, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, eye of Ra, without her equal”.

5.4



ḳdš nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw = “Qedesh, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods”.

The other titles on the reverse side (Lambdin in Maier 1986:87 and Stadelmann 1967:121-122) are the typical “lady of heaven”, “mistress of heaven”, “lady of the two lands”, but also “child of Ra”, “beloved of Ra”, “*udjat* eye of Atum”.



5.5

ḳdst = “Qedeshet”.

5.7

ḳdšt nbt pt wr ḥkȝw ḥnwt sbȝw = “Qedeshet, lady of heaven, great of magic, mistress of the stars”.[62]

5.16

kdšt ʿȝzṯrt ʿnṯ = “Qedeshet, Astarte, Anat”.

5.17

ḳdšt mrrt n ptḥ = “Qedeshet beloved of Ptah”.

The inscription on **Cat 5.15** is unclear and might contain part of the typical “lady of heaven” title. On **Cat 5.2** it is illegible and it is unclear on **Cat 5.8**.

From the inscriptions it can be seen that *q-d-š-(t)* is not only an epithet or title, but a proper divine name in Egyptian, written with the divine determinative of the cobra (hieroglyph: I12) and with titles like “lady of heaven” typical of Egyptian goddesses, but also of Anat and Astarte as shown earlier.

3.4.4 Conclusions

The titles of the three named goddesses are sometimes very stereotyped, (especially the “lady of heaven … mistress of the gods”) and could apply to any goddess in Egypt as well. Day (1999:38) saw the title on **Cat 2.1** as an echo of *CAT* 1.108:6-7 “mistress of kingship” with reference to Anat, but this title is also used for Astarte and even “Qedeshet”.

Only “Qedeshet” is specifically called the “beloved of Ptah”, related to Ra, and “great of magic”. Especially the linking of “Qedeshet” with the eye of Ra (**Cat 5.3**) indicated for Helck (1966:14) that she had been incorporated into the Egyptian pantheon.

3.5 *Pharaohs, deities and persons*

In addition to the animals (3.3.4) with which the goddesses are shown, they are also shown with other deities, pharaohs and worshippers. Each goddess is

[62] “Lady of the stars of heaven” on the bowl published by Redford (1973:37 and 46 = *TUAT* I/6:540ff.), authentic?, cf. Yoyotte (1982:44).

dealt with independently here in order to determine the function of these deities and/or other people.

3.5.1 Anat

Anat occurs on various items with that Anatophile, Ramses II (**Cat 2.1, 3.7, 3.8**), who called himself "the beloved of Anat" and her his "mother". This has more to do with her help in war than describing her maternal and nursing abilities (cf. Walls 1992:153). Ramses II was "obsessed" with Anat (cf. Bowman 1978:225ff.) and even used her name for his daughter.[63] On **Cat 1.7** she addresses pharaoh Merneptah, who stands offering incense to her.

More private is the stela **Cat 1.1**, where Anat is shown with "Qedeshet", Min and Reshep. The Beisan stela **Cat 3.1** is dedicated to the local deity by an Egyptian official (Khesy-Nekht) living abroad. He is shown in a gesture of prayer and asks her for life, prosperity and health.[64]

3.5.2 Astarte

The equestrian Astarte occurs with the pharaohs Tutmoses IV (**Cat 4.4**) and Ramses II (**Cat 4.4a**), but also standing with Amenophis II (**Cat 3.4**), Ramses II (**Cat 1.1a, 3.6**), Merneptah (**Cat 1.8**) and Siptah (**Cat 3.5**). There are items where the equestrian Astarte comes from a non-royal tomb (**Cat 4.1**) or is depicted with a non-royal worshipper (**Cat 4.3**). The equestrian figure on the ostraca and seals (**Cat 4.5-4.27**) and seals with the armed and winged goddess (**Cat 1.10, 3.12**) were owned by ordinary people, which shows that the goddess was also popular among the ordinary people.

Various Egyptian deities are shown with Astarte: Memphite deities like *Ptah* and Sekhmet and also Osiris, Hathor and Buto (*PM* IV 74:2) (**Cat 3.4**), She is shown with Egyptian Ptah (**Cat 1.8**), and with Ptah and a male Syro-Palestinian deity (perhaps Reshep – cf. Cornelius 1994:107) on **Cat 3.12.** Astarte was the daughter of Ptah (as in the "Astarte papyrus", cf. Pritchard 1969b:17-18). She further occurs with Syro-Palestinian Baal (**Cat 1.10**) and equestrian with perhaps the winged Baal-Seth on a lion (Cornelius 1994:204) on **Cat 4.21**.

Astarte appears with *Seth* and the gods Amen-Ra, Nut and Ra-Harakhte (*PM* VII 99:11) on **Cat 3.5**. On **Cat 3.6** (cf. Kitchen 1999:508) there is a reclining sphinx with Seth head on the upper register. In the Egyptian texts

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[63] Cf. the popular novel by Birgit Fiolka, *Bint Anat. Tochter des Nils*. His sword was called "Anat is victorious" and his dog "Anat is protection".

[64] Compare the Mami stela from Ugarit dedicated by a local Egyptian official to the local god, Baal-Zaphon and the Mekal stela from Beisan (Cornelius 1994:151-153, Pl. 39 and Fig. 1 and cf. Scandone-Matthiae 1997).

(e.g. *Contest of Horus and Seth*, cf. Pritchard 1969b:15 and Walls 1992:145-146) Astarte (and Anat) are daughters of Ra and given to Seth.

There are also uncertain items which can be connected with Anat, Astarte or perhaps even the elusive Asherah (as far as her iconography is concerned): **Cat 1.3** shows a menacing goddess with a seated pharaoh. **Cat 1.2** has the Ramses II or III cartouche, but this can also be the prenomen of other pharaohs. The goddess can be either Anat or Astarte. The seated goddess on **Cat 2.2** is shown with another goddess and the seated one on **Cat 2.3** is perhaps shown with Baal. Moabite deities are shown with a local ruler on **Cat 3.3**. The enigmatic goddess of **Cat 3.11** nurses two young princes, and a goddess is shown with a private person on **Cat 3.2.**

3.5.3 "Qedeshet"

It has been shown (2.5.1) that she occurs with the Egyptian god Min (**Cat 5.1-5.6**) and the Syro-Palestinian Reshep (also very popular in Egypt: **Cat 5.1-5.4**). The figures on items **Cat 5.7-13** are problematic, with perhaps Reshep on **Cat 5.11, 5.12** and **Cat 5.7**. The identity of the figures flanking her on **Cat 5.10** and **5.13** is uncertain.

"Qedeshet" has been made the consort of Min and of Reshep (Sadek 1987:156), and because she is called "beloved of Ptah" on Berlin **Cat 5.17**, Stadelmann (1967:115) speculated that he is not only her father, but also her husband. She is linked with Ptah in Memphis in pap. Sallier IV (Pritchard 1969a:250). She is the "eye of Ra" (**Cat 5.3**) and on the reverse side of **Cat 5.4** she is the child of Ra, beloved of Ra and *udjat* eye of Atum (Maier 1987:87).

Especially prominent are the *private* persons on stelae (most from DeM). Worshippers are shown on the second register on most of the stelae: **Cat 5.1-4, 7, 8, 14**. It is not always clear whether the devotees were Semitic workers as they could have merely adopted Egyptian names (Edwards 1955:51 and Boreux 1939:684-687). There are specifically *women* involved (**Cat 5.4, 5.7, 5.15, 5.17**). It is remarkable that on **Cat 5.4** it is women (the wife of the dedicator and four daughters) who address "Qedeshet". **Cat 5.17** is dedicated by a *ṯ3krt*, translated as "Dirne" in German ("harlot" or "sex worker" in SA terms), but not a "sacred prostitute" (Stadelmann 1967:116).

The goddess "Qedeshet" formed part of the "popular cult" of Egypt (Sadek 1987), whereas Anat and Astarte were worshipped by the pharaohs as part of the royal cult and by ordinary people. The private "Qedeshet" stela **Cat 1.1/5.1** depicts Anat together with "Qedeshet", but no royal monument *depicting* "Qedeshet" is known.

3.6 *Conclusions*

When all the attributes and the full range of the iconography of the three goddesses who have been identified with certainty (excluding Asherah, of course) are taken into account, the *Egyptian* style is clear. This one would have expected for items from Egypt, but it is also evident on Syro-Palestinian material. Even the "Qedeshet" figure which has been shown to be not of Egyptian but of Syro-Palestinian origin has the Hathor hairdo or holds Egyptian lily-lotus flowers.

Although Syro-Palestinian deities – including the three goddesses under discussion – were very popular in Egypt[65], the domination of Egyptian styles in Syro-Palestinian art is clearly evident. The political and cultural domination[66] of Egypt in this region led to the "exporting" of the Syro-Palestinian deities to Egypt. The pharaohs and conquering armies brought back these deities to Egypt, as did POW's and slaves from Syro-Palestine. Back home in Syro-Palestine the Egyptian officials (**Cat 3.1**) residing there worshipped local deities.[67]

[65] Cf. the classics of Stadelmann (1966, 1967) and Helck (1966, 1971a).

[66] On the complexity of this matter cf. Bryan (1996); earlier Giveon (1978). Higginbotham (2000) argued that it was a case of *elite emulation* and not so much Egyptian control, but Hasel (1998:e.g. 108, 111) emphasised Egyptian political control.

[67] Other ways of transmitting Syria-Palestinian deities were studied by Helck (1966). One of these might have been *trade* (Helck 1966:2), but in this regard the iconographic sources are "blind".

CHAPTER 4: FINAL CONCLUSIONS

4.1 *Identification*

The ancient peoples knew which deities were being represented in their art, in the same way that an initiate knows which saints are being represented. But the keys to the interpretations are lost to us. One of the central problems of this study has been the identification of the figures with a deity known from the texts (i.e. Ugaritic or Egyptian), as already observed under 1.3.2. This problem could not be ignored as the *aim* of the study (1.2.3) was to identify the figures with a name, either Anat, Asherah, Astarte or "Qedeshet", and to present a *catalogue* of images of these goddesses. It would have been easier if all the items contained a name, like the 23 items with names in the catalogue.

Perhaps this concern with specific identification is altogether wrong and it may be that the artists never had this in mind. In the past there has been an "obsession" with connecting the images with the texts from Ugarit. Every time that Schaeffer discovered a new image at Ras Shamra, it was the myths that he resorted to for identification. The discussion of the Ugaritic seal **Cat 2.2** (2.2) and the ivory **Cat 3.11** (2.3) are classical examples of this. Just because the figure has wings and Anat is said to be winged in some Ugaritic texts, the figure is identified with Anat (2.1.3). In some cases uncertain texts were used (such as *CAT* 1.15) to identify the so-called suckling maiden Anat on **Cat 3.11**. In this case Asherah and perhaps Astarte are also possible candidates as indicated under 2.3.

Should we then refrain from attempting any identification? In his pioneering study on Palestinian female figurines Pritchard (1943) was perhaps too negative. Caution in identifying a figure is to be recommended, but when we attempt an identification in a sound way, it is something different to merely calling the images "Astarte" or, as is now more common, "Asherah" figurines.

4.1.1 Identified by inscription

In the catalogue, which includes a total of 127 items, *23* figures are identified by the accompanying inscriptions (cf. 3.4):

- Anat (6): **Cat 1.1**, **1.7**, **2.1**, **3.1**, **3.7**, **3.8.**
- Astarte (10): **Cat 1.1a**, **1.8**, **1.10**, **3.4**, **3.5**, **3.6**, **4.1**, **4.2**, **4.4**, **4.4a.**
- "Qedeshet" (7): **5.1**, **5.3**, **5.4**, **5.5**, **5.7**, **5.16**, **5.17**.

The iconographic typology that can be ascertained from this, is:
Anat

menacing on throne with worshippers: **Cat 1.1**
armed with pharaoh: **Cat 1.7**

sitting next to pharaoh: **Cat 2.1**
standing in front of worshipper: **Cat 3.1**
standing with pharaoh: **Cat 3.7**
standing with pharaoh: **Cat 3.8**

Astarte

menacing with pharaoh: **Cat 1.1a**
armed with god Ptah and pharaoh: **Cat 1.8**
armed with menacing god: **Cat 1.10**
standing with group of deities and pharaoh: **Cat 3.4**
standing with group of deities and pharaoh: **Cat 3.5**
standing with pharaoh: **Cat 3.6**
menacing on *horseback*: **Cat 4.1**
menacing on *horseback*: **Cat 4.2**
with bow on *horseback*: **Cat 4.4**
menacing on *horseback*: **Cat 4.4.a**

"Qedeshet"

on lion flanked by Min and Reshep: **Cat 5.1**
on lion flanked by Min and Reshep: **Cat 5.3**
on lion flanked by Min and Reshep: **Cat 5.4**
on lion flanked by two gods: **Cat 5.7**
on lion with Min and name of Reshep: **Cat 5.5**
on lion: **Cat 5.17**
on lion with names of Anat and Astarte: **Cat 5.16**

4.1.2 Identified by comparison of iconographic attributes

As stated earlier (1.3.2), the named material is used as point of departure, the iconographic attributes are then compared with the attributes of the unnamed items. One iconographic attribute (i.e. wings for Anat, which is an interpretation in reality based on the Ugaritic texts) is not sufficient to identify a figure with a specific deity. The *total iconography* has to be kept in mind. With this in mind, the unnamed material can be reviewed:

With regard to the *armed* figures (2.1) the situation is very difficult; both Anat and Astarte are showed as armed on named material and they were described as warrior/hunter goddesses in the Egyptian and Ugaritic texts. Both wear the familiar *atef* crown. The "menacing" bronzes **Cat 1.4-5** could apply to both (as is the case with the menacing male bronzes, which could be Baal *or* Reshep; cf. Cornelius 1994:125ff.). The same is true of **Cat 1.2-3**. Presumably the figure on the bronze **Cat 1.6** is Astarte because of her clear connection with horses and chariots.

The *seated* figures (2.2) are also difficult to identify. **Cat 2.2** and **2.3** are not necessarily Anat because of the wings or because she appears seated (?) with her striding, menacing consort. **Cat 2.6a-b** is impossible to identify and **Cat 2.4-5**, **2.7** could perhaps be connected with Asherah (cf. further under 4.5).

The *standing* unarmed figure (2.3) **Cat 3.2** could be Anat or Astarte, the woman on **Cat 3.3** could be Anat or Astarte or a local goddess. **Cat 3.8a** and **3.10** are uncertain. **Cat 3.9** might perhaps be Asherah (cf. 4.5). The traditional identification of the winged figure **Cat 3.11** as Anat has been questioned. **Cat 3.12** is Astarte because of the connection with Ptah and not necessarily Anat because of the wings.

The *riding* Astarte (2.4) also occurs on the uninscribed stela **Cat 4.3** and ostraca and seal-amulets (**Cat 4.5-4.26**). Anat is a less likely candidate, even with the winged figures, as is Baal-Seth.

"*Qedeshet*" (2.5) can be identified from named Egyptian parallels (**Cat 5.1, 5.3-5, 5.7, 5.16-17**). The basic iconography is the same on the uninscribed stelae **Cat 5.2, 5.6**, **5.8-10, 5.14-15, 5.18, 5.26**. It is proposed that there are also "Qedeshet" figures on **Cat 5.11**, **Cat 5.12**, **5.19-21, 23, 27-30**. Although the figure on **Cat 5.13** and **Cat 5.22** stands on *horses*, the iconography is that of "Qedeshet" and not Astarte as is sometimes proposed.

The terracottas (**Cat 5.24-25, 31-62**) have been a contentious issue in the past: the question is whether these represent a deity or a mortal woman and, if a deity, which one? The hairdo and the gesture of holding plants might identify these as representing a *goddess*.[1] The identification in the light of the inscribed Egyptian stelae with "Qedeshet" was already proposed by Riis (1949:80).[2] The two Harasim items (**Cat 5.24-25**) which show the women on lions provided more of the missing pieces in the "Qedeshet" puzzle.

In the *Introduction* the point was made that there were more goddesses than just "the big three" (Asherah, Anat and Astarte) and therefore more possibilities for identifying the figures as other deities. "Qedeshet" has also been brought into the picture. The iconography of an important goddess such as Shapsh is still uncertain because of the lack of inscribed items and the iconography of Asherah remains a mystery.

But in the light of the descriptions in the catalogue and in Chapter 2 the following conclusions on each of the goddesses can be proposed.

[1] Cf. Keel & Uehlinger (1998:110) and Kamlah (1993:110-111), who proposed all four goddesses under discussion as possible candidates.

[2] The feather crown on some of the terracottas (cf. **Cat 5.40, 57**) led Maxwell-Hyslop (1971:140) to argue that this is the Hittite goddess Shaushga, but if we take the raised arms with the plants as the main iconographic trademark of "Qedeshet", this seems a more plausible option.

4.2 *Anat*[3]

The goddess Anat appears in the Ugaritic pantheon lists *CAT* 1.47, 1.118 (Pardee 2002:14-16; Wyatt 2002:360ff.) after Asherah as ^{c}*nt* (Akkadian ^{d}*anatum;* Hebrew ענת; for Egyptian spellings cf. under 3.4.1). The etymology of her name is taken to be related to Arabic ^{c}*anwat* "force/violence" (Day in *DDD* 1999:36). She is identified with the Greek Athena in the Greek-Phoenician bilingual *KAI* No. 42. Anat is also related to the Hurrian-Hittite Ishtar-Shawushka (Wegner 1981:38, 196) and the Mesopotamian Inana-Ishtar-Inin-Annunatum (Selz 2000).

In the Ugaritic texts she bears various titles (Walls 1992:78ff.) of which *btlt* is the most controversial, translated as "adolescent female". Her activities are varied. She is the daughter of Ilu (*CAT* 1.18:I:15-19) and the sister of Baal (*CAT* 1.3:IV:49, 1.10:II:16) with whom she has a close relationship, but not his *consort* (contra Niehr 1998:32 with Schwemer 2001:544). In *CAT* 1.6:II:28-30 she longs for Baal:

> "As the heart of a cow to her calf, as the heart of a ewe to her lamb, so the heart of Anat went out to Baal" (Wyatt 2002:135).

Anat is a warrior and huntress (cf. under 2.1 with **Cat 1.9**), so vividly described in *CAT* 1.3:II. She can throw a tantrum over the bow of Aqhat (*CAT* 1.17-18), but she is also famed for her beauty (*CAT* 1.14 III 41-42), and "mistress of kingship, dominion and high heavens" (*CAT* 1.108:6-7).

Egyptian texts describe her role in *war*. In the *Chester Beatty papyrus* Anat is described as "the victorious", a woman acting as a man and the daughter of Ra and wife of Seth (Pritchard 1969a:15, 250 and Walls 1992:147). She is like a shield (Pritchard 1969a:250) and chariots are likened to her (Pritchard 1969a:250, 254).

Egyptian temples in Palestine were dedicated to her such as the one at Beisan (Wimmer 1990 and 1994). A festival was held in her honour in Gaza (Higginbotham 2000:51; Weippert 1988:294). In Egypt she had temples at Tanis and at Hibis.

Her armed iconography (**Cat 1.1**, **1.7**) is clear. Her relationship to specific pharaohs (especially Ramses II, deities and persons) was discussed under 3.5.1. Wyatt (1983, 1984) ascribed a royal function to her on the basis of the *atef* crown, but the same crown is worn by Astarte. On **Cat 3.1** she is worshipped by a local Egyptian official. Ordinary people had no interest in her military power, but on **Cat 1.1** she occurs with "Qedeshet" (cf. 4.4 for the possible meaning). Day (1992) described her as a "mistress of animals" with reference to some of the Ugaritic pendants (e.g. **Cat 5.20**), but this figure is

[3] Cf. Walls (1992) and overview in Day (*DDD* 1999); also Leitz (2002:II:174).

rather to be identified as “Qedeshet” (Cornelius 1993; cf. under 4.4). Her equestrian iconography has also been rejected (2.4).

Pope compared the violent Anat to the slaying Hindu goddess Kali (Pope & Röllig 1965:214, Fig. 1 and 1977:606ff. with Pl. IX); compare also the goddess Durga slaying enemies (Walls 1992:33ff. and 54ff.; **Fig. 54**).

4.3 *Astarte*[4]

In the Ugaritic pantheon lists Astarte is placed after Anat and in the mythological texts she plays a lesser role and is indeed “elusive” (Wyatt 2002:370), although she is related to Baal and Anat. Her name in Ugaritic is ^{c}*ṯtrt* (Akkadian Ishtar, Hurrian-Hittite Shawushka, Phoenician ^{c}*štrt*; Hebrew עשׁתרת, for Egyptian cf. under 3.4.2, Greek Astarte), but the etymology is uncertain.

In the Ugaritic texts the beauty of Huriya is compared to that of Astarte (and Anat) (*CAT* 1.14:III:41-42), but she is also warlike (cf. under 2.1 to **Cat 1.9**) and a huntress (Niehr 1998:34-35); see, for example, *CAT* 1.92 where she goes hunting with a spear. She is (like Reshep) related to horses (*CAT* 1.86:6). Astarte became popular in Egypt (perhaps via the Levantine harbours, according to Weippert 1975:21), especially at Peru-nefer (cf. under 3.2.1; also Herodotus II, 112 [Aphrodite]) and was identified with Sekhmet at Memphis. She is the daughter of Ptah (**Cat 1.8**) in the *Astarte Papyrus* and also the daughter of Ra and wife of Seth. Egyptian texts relate her to horses and chariots (Pritchard 1969a:244, 250, cf. under 2.4.1).

Astarte also occurs as an important goddess at Emar where she is called “Astarte of battle” (Fleming 1992). Astarte with weapons shall break the bow in the treaty of the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre (Pritchard 1969a:534).

Astarte is depicted as a warrior (**Cat 1.1a, 1.8, 1.10**), but especially as the “goddess of horse-riders” (Grimal 1992:218) as shown under 2.4. Her relationship to specific pharaohs, deities and persons was discussed under 3.5.2. She is a “mistress of the animals” (**Cat 4.8**).[5]

The armed Astarte can be compared with the Mesopotamian Ishtar (Colbow 1991). For the armed and equestrian Astarte in later iconography cf. **Figs. 2, 10, 32** and **34** (**Fig. 32** with the head of Sekhmet). The Indian goddess Durga (**Fig. 54**) is shown heavily armed on a lion. The image of the *femme*

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4 Cf. Bonnet (1996); Hermann (1999) and overview in Wyatt (*DDD* 1999); also Leitz (2002:II:212).

5 But not on **Cat 3.12** as Giveon (1978:93) presumed because the ram and sundisk stand for Amen-Ra (with Keel 1997:530).

fatale on horseback and in a chariot lives on in the popular TV character of Xena and on contemporary posters.

4.4 *"Qedeshet"* [6]

The idea that *qdš* (Akkadian *qadištu*, Hebrew קדשׁ) refers to a cultic or sacred prostitute has properly been discredited (cf. e.g. Frevel 1995 and Bird 1997). It merely means "holy" or can refer to a sanctuary (cf. van Koppen & van der Toorn, and Parker in *DDD* 1999).

The iconography of "Qedeshet" has repeatedly been described and needs no further attention. But the questions that remain to be answered are:

- whether we are dealing with an independent goddess; and
- what her religious function was.

This is especially a problem with the terracottas (the most numerous media) because inscriptions are missing. Earlier interpretations[7] sometimes related the material too readily with Astarte (Albright 1939). In contrast Carol Meyers argued for the images not as representing "idols" or a goddess, but as votive objects, "concrete expressions of particularly female religious life" (1988:162-163).

The figures on the "Qedeshet" terracottas are goddesses because they appear on lions (**Cat 5.24-25**), wear divine hairdoes (even an elaborate crown on **Cat 5.32**) and hold flowers. The figures are shown without other deities or worshippers as seen on the stelae or pendants (**Cat 5.12**) and the cylinder seal **Cat 5.11**. The Qarnayim mould (**Cat 5.22**) does show her with two male figures (presumably deities, if compared to the other material, but identification unknown).

Albright (1954:26; 1968:106) was one of the first who interpreted *qdš* in the Ugaritic texts as an epithet of the goddess Asherah,[8] followed by his disciple Cross (1973:33-34). This interpretation was again applied in detail to the Egyptian stelae by Cross's student, Maier (1986:81ff.) and followed by Olyan (1988:40n6), Pettey (1990:177-178), Hutter (1996:133-134) and Brody (1996:27ff.). John Day (1992:484 and 2000:48) and Dikstra (1995:68, 71 and 1997:92) also adopted this interpretation. The most recent treatment of Asherah by Hadley (2000:46-49, 191-192) concluded "… the textual material at our disposal appears to give more support to the view that *qdš* can be an

6 Cf. Cornelius (1999) and Frevel (2001).

7 Although specifically relevant to the *pillar figurines*, there is a historical overview of the way that terracottas have been interpreted in Kletter (1996:Chap. II).

8 Gese (1970:149-150) and de Moor (1971:130) also followed this line, but cf. Paton (1910:182), who proposed Astarte. Earlier it was believed that *qdš* is an epithet or a title for Asherah (Cornelius 1989:61-62), but this view was revised in Cornelius (1993).

epithet for Athirat than it does to any other view. Taken together with the vast iconographical material, including the Winchester College stele (cf. Chapter 7), the evidence points to an identification of *qdš* with Athirat" (49).

The other side, which rejected this identification and took *qdš* as a title of e.g. Ilu, is represented by Pope (1955:44)[9], Perlman (1978:81), Xella (1982) and esp. Wiggins (1991), followed by Smith (1994:95), van der Toorn (1996:326), van Koppen & van der Toorn (1999) and Wyatt (1999a:100).
Frevel (1995:887ff.) is more "neutral" and for Binger (1997:56) it is ambiguous.

The present author has followed the view represented by Wiggins and others, but has gone further and argued for an *independent* "*Qedeshet*" *iconography* (Cornelius 1993 and 1999).

It is beyond the scope of this purely iconographic study to review the textual material, but it seems that the scale has swung against an identification with Asherah, as summarised in the survey article of van Koppen & van der Toorn on "holy one" in *DDD* (1999:417): "The best option is to consider Ug *qdš* an epithet of El, and Eg *qdš*(.*t*) the epithet of a Canaanite goddess taken over and developed in Egypt … an epithet of an unidentified Canaanite goddess". They also link the goddess with the figures on the pendants and terracottas.

The group which opted for the *qdš*-Asherah identification argued that the stelae (Maier), pendants (Pettey and Hutter) and terracottas (John Day) are nothing other than Asherah representations. However, if the textual-philological identification is in doubt, then this too is uncertain. The iconographic identification cannot be based on texts for which there are *ambiguous* interpretations.[10] Furthermore, it is methodologically debatable whether texts should be used to interpret images. It has repeatedly been said that the relationship between the Ugaritic texts and the images is not yet clear. The "vast iconographical material" of Hadley (and dealt with by Maier) can only be used if the textual identification of *qdš* and Asherah is absolutely clear.

One of the pieces of the "vast iconographical material" is the Winchester stela (**Cat 5.16**), which has served as the link in the whole *qdš*-Asherah equation and has been discussed to the point of exhaustion.[11] The main problem is: why one figure, but *three* names? The following solutions have been proposed:

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[9] Presumably changed in Pope (1971a:926)?

[10] To rephrase Wiggins's (1996:93) view on the iconographic material!

[11] Cf. the bibliography in the **Catalogue**. This item is much like the Kuntillet Ajrud material and the Tel Dan inscription which have been studied in abundance.

- Helck wrote that the scribe combined the names of foreign goddesses who were popular in Egypt (1971a:463n145).
- Another interpretation takes this as a blending or *syncretism* of various deities as in later times, i.e. worship to three related goddesses, represented by a single figure (Pope 1971a:926; Wiggins 1991:384 and van Koppen & van der Toorn 1999:416).[12]
- Stadelmann (1967:115) read the text as "holiness" of Anat/Astarte (cf. Frevel 1995:886n674 and 2001:227)
- *Three deities* are involved, one represented visually ("Qedeshet") and the other two (Anat and Astarte) only indicated by their names (Cornelius 1993:30); cf. "Astarte"on the Beitin cylinder (**Cat 1.10**).

The importance of this ambiguous stela (Wiggins 1991:388) should not be over-exaggerated and perhaps not too much should be gleaned from this one stela alone. Edwards (1955:49) has already observed that the stela is artistically speaking mediocre and that the artist was not completely familiar with the hieroglyphic script. Perhaps it is a fake?

Noort (1994:171) described her as an iconographic type and not an independent goddess. Although Frevel rejected my hypothesis for an individual goddess "Qedeshet" and argued for a combination of Near Eastern goddesses (1995:886n674 and 2001:227), it is repeated here and I want to argue for an *independent iconography and an independent goddess "Qedeshet"*.

In Egyptian texts "Qedeshet" is an *independent* goddess and is mentioned with other deities as having a temple in Memphis (Pritchard 1969a:250). She is mentioned in magical spells against poison (Stadelmann 1984:27). On the bowl published by Redford (1973; authentic?) her name occurs with that of Ptah, Reshep, Anat and Astarte. Helck (1966:14) argued that the title "eye of Ra" shows that she has become part of the Egyptian pantheon. She carries the title "great of magic" (**Cat 5.7**) which was used of goddesses identified with the royal crown (Gardiner 1988:583; cf. Leitz 2002:454). On the stelae her name is written with the female deity determinative and she carries the titles of Egyptian goddesses (3.4.3). She is depicted with deities like Min, Anat and Reshep (**Cat 1.1** and **5.1**).

[12] Olyan (1988:40n6) called this "triple-fusion hypostasis". Scholars sometimes transfer the confusion between Asherah and Astarte in the Hebrew Bible and the later Phoenician identification of Anat and Astarte (Atargatis) on this and other 2nd millennium stelae. Pettey (1990:182) even connected the Beitin seal of Astarte (**Cat 1.10**) with Asherah, but the inscription is clear and Asherah is not an armed goddess. Uehlinger's (1998-2001:64) methodological remarks on taking full account of *time and place* are important in this regard.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem is that no independent goddess by the name of “Qedeshet” is clearly known from the Syro-Palestinian and Ugaritic texts. Perhaps “Qedeshet” is comparable to Mekal of Beisan,[13] identified by the inscription, but not known in any texts. This might be an indication of iconography as a source for ancient religion, *independently* from the texts.

What, then, was the religious function of the “Qedeshet” items (stelae, pendants and terracottas) and the religious role of “Qedeshet”?

Pilz (1924:166), thinking in terms of the paradigm of the period, emphasised general fertility and the love-life. For Helck she was a love goddess (1966:7), an “idol” (1971a:219; or “amulet”, cf. Lipiński 1986:36), which became a goddess in Egypt, but functioning in the erotic sphere (1971:219-220). With regard to **Cat 5.17**, Helck (1971a:463) wrote: “Verknüpfung der Qadschu mit der freien Liebe”. Although “Qedeshet” might have been linked with the Egyptian “love-goddess” Hathor, the description “goddess of love” or a goddess of the erotic sphere is too general and suffers from the same one-sidedness that characterised the “fertility goddess” paradigm.

We know from the sources that “Qedeshet” was popular in Egypt, but never worshipped by the pharaohs as was the case with Baal and Reshep (Cornelius 1994) and as shown in this study for Anat and Astarte. The *texts* on the inscribed stelae might provide some more information. “Qedeshet” (like her companion Reshep) is invoked as the giver of health, a good life and even a beautiful burial on the texts on the reverse side of the Louvre stela **Cat 5.4** (translated in Stadelmann 1967:121-122 and by Lambdin in Maier 1967:87). But none of the formulas are specific to “Qedeshet” – they can apply to any deity. Perhaps the stelae were merely meant to represent life and well-being (Cornelius 1994:261). For this reason the “Qedeshet” stela **Cat 1.1/5.1** also shows the heavily armed *Anat* on the lower register, not for the sake of war, but for further protection.

Helck (1971a:465) made much of the fact that many of the stelae were devoted to *women*. However, only a few can be directly connected with women: the reverse side of **Cat 5.4** shows (cf. Boreux 1939:Fig. 1) the wife and daughters, **Cat 5.7** (not known to Helck) a woman and daughter, **Cat 5.15** (and perhaps **Cat 5.8**) a woman worshipper. **Cat 5.17** was devoted to a “sex worker”; this is the only item that might indicate that “Qedeshet” was related to the erotic sphere. But older studies (e.g. Helck and Stadelmann) still worked with the outdated ideas of “Qedeshet” as a “sacred prostitute” and the “Canaanite fertility cult”. It might also be that this lady had a stela devoted to

[13] Cornelius (1994:Fig. 1); Pritchard (1969:No. 487) and Thompson (1970).

"Qedeshet" only for her general well-being and not necessarily because she was a "sex worker".

"Qedeshet" stands on a lion and holds lotus-lilies and serpents.

- For Keel (1992:148) the *lion* represents "… wilde, ungebrochene, unnahbare und jungfräuliche Kraft", i.e. *power*.
- The *serpents* are symbols of *healing power* (Keel 1992a:208).
- The *flowers* might have had medicinal and *healing powers* (3.3.4) and hence related to the prayers for good health on the stelae.
- With regard to **Cat 5.22**, Keel (1992:108) related the *horse* to the aggressive *power* (war) and the flowers with *life*.

Thus: "Qedeshet" and her symbols (serpents, lion, flowers) stood for:

- *healing* (serpents, flowers) and
- *power* (lion[14], horse[15], and with the armed Reshep and Anat).

In short: "*Qedeshet*" *stood for healing power and a good life*.[16]

The fact that "Qedeshet" is not merely a "fertility goddess" or "sacred prostitute" (Gray 1964:124) as in the old paradigm is indicated by her wearing an elaborate headdress and standing on an animal and holding plants and animals. Kamlah (1993:112) showed with reference to Weippert (1988:305) that she is a *mistress* ("Beherrscherin"), not only representing the powers of nature. "Qedeshet" is also a "mistress of animals"[17] on **Cat 5.11** and **5.20** (contra Day 1992: Anat).

What about the terracotta plaques? These were cheaply produced items and perhaps imitations of the stelae (3.1.3) or other images. They probably played a part in the religion of the ordinary people (i.e. as "home icons"), but no specific information is available. It is unclear if the terracottas played a specific role in the religion of *women*. Recently the "blessing/initiation" idea of Winter (1987:127ff.) was repeated by Keel & Uehlinger (1998:122) and Uehlinger (1998-2001:57-58). None of these plaques come from tombs which can be identified as female; the same is true of the metal pendants.[18]

What we do know is that the medium was hardly ever used for male deities and the *goddess* indeed "outstripped" her male consort by far (cf. van der Toorn 2002:61). Her consort might have been Reshep as on the stelae.

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[14] In later times in Europe rulers also stood on lions as symbols of their power; unfortunately their wives only stand on dogs as symbols of loyalty!

[15] Horses were mainly used in war, although "Qedeshet" is not a war goddess like Astarte.

[16] Cf. already Morenz (1960:253).

[17] Cf. Cornelius (1993) and in Uehlinger & Eggler (forthcoming).

[18] It would have been "easier" if we knew more about the find context such as, for example, the terracottas as described by van der Toorn (1986:498; cf. Trümpelmann 1981): depicting pairs in the sexual act found near bars and brothels, some with inscriptions with a sexual connotation.

Perhaps the terracottas (with flowers and even lions and horses) functioned like the Egyptian stelae and "Qedeshet" was worshipped for her protection in life and death.

4.5 *Asherah*[19]

Asherah is the chief goddess at Ugarit. She is called *rbt* "great one" *CAT* 1.4:III:27 (cf. Gordon 1988). Asherah was closely associated with Ilu and "apparently the queen mother in her exercise of authority" (Wiggins 2001:180), although it is nowhere pertinently stated that she is the wife of Ilu. She is the creator and "mother of the gods" (Wyatt 1999:99) with 70 sons (*CAT* 1.4:VI:46), but not a "mother goddess" (as in Gray 1964:228-229). The Ugaritic etymology of *ˁṯrt* (Hebrew אשׁרה) is still a matter of dispute.

As already shown (1.2.1), the iconography of the goddess Asherah has lead to heated debate. The problem is that, in contrast to the other goddesses, *no* iconographic item has yet come to light with her name on it. There seems to have been a move from the cautious (Pritchard 1943) to the optimistic (Maier 1986) to the critical (Wiggins 1991, 1993, 2001) to the pessimistic (Frevel 1995), with Kletter (1996) ending in a cautious (but unfortunately without proper motivation) identification of the *Pillar Figurines* as part of the Asherah iconography.

In this study, however, only the Late Bronze material is applicable and the controversy over Asherah's iconography in the Israelite cult has been left out of consideration. As has been argued (4.4), the many "Qedeshet" stelae are *not* Asherah representations. One would have hoped that a stela depicting the chief goddess might have been found at Ugarit. Among the 16 stelae published by Yon (1992) only *one with an inscription* identifying the figure as Baal-Zaphon was found. Only one depicting a female was found (**Cat 1.9**) but the identification is uncertain (cf. discussion under 2.1.3).

Even if *qdš* might be an epithet of Asherah in some cases (other deities also carry the title, cf. Binger 1997:90), it does not mean that each and every stela with the name *qdš/t* is an "Asherah" depiction. This would be unjustified, methodologically speaking, and force a *textual* interpretation onto the iconographic material as independent sources. The same would apply if we try to find a visual image of Asherah riding an ass (as described in *CAT* 1.4:IV and proposed by Pope 1971). It has been reiterated that the images and the descriptions in the myths need not correlate (1.3.2).

The Ugaritic texts can be used to paint a (general) background picture of the goddess Asherah, but cannot be directly applied to the iconography.

[19] Cf. Wyatt (*DDD* 1999a); Wiggins (1993); Frevel (1995); Binger (1997); Merlo (1998) and Hadley (2000).

Asherah's character is not always that clear from the Ugaritic textual material. Nevertheless, from the texts we get an idea that she was the senior goddess in the pantheon. Binger argued that she was very powerful and, in fact, the real power in Ugarit (1997:51, 82, 90-93). With this general idea in mind, the iconographic material can again be reviewed.

The "Qedeshet" iconography of a young(er) goddess is not what one would expect for such a senior goddess. The image of Asherah (however various and uncertain it might be) is rather that of a senior lady. The figure of the *Potnia Therion* ivory feeding the animals (**Cat 2.7**), or the seated and standing bronzes (**Cat 2.4-5, 3.9**) would seem the best candidates. It is not certain whether **Cat 2.2** and **Cat 2.5** are "genuine" Asherah representations. The ivory (**Cat 2.7**) could *perhaps* depict Asherah. The same might be true of the bronze **Cat 2.4**. The suckling goddess on the ivory **Cat 3.11** is rather one of the younger goddesses, because she is feeding kings and not gods. This leaves us with one final possible Asherah image, the blessing standing figure of **Cat 3.9**[20], but even with this item we cannot be absolutely certain who is being represented.

4.6 *Epilogue*

If we accept the account of the Ugaritic pantheon as a bureaucracy (Handy 1994), then Asherah is the authoritative ruler and Anat and Astarte the active goddesses, with "Qedeshet" having an undefined role.

The notion of Anat and Astarte as "goddesses of love" (de Moor 1987:198n32) has to be redefined. War symbols were typical of Palestine in the Late Bronze Age (Keel & Uehlinger 1998:108; Cornelius 1999b) and the iconography shows that both were "warriors".

The fertility paradigm should not be over-emphasised as shown by Day (1992), Frevel (1995) and Walls (1992). Nakedness does not equal fertility, it can also represent loveliness (Budin 2002).

There is a close relationship between Anat and Astarte in the Egyptian and Ugaritic texts and between these goddesses and Baal. Their iconography is sometimes very similar, but only Astarte is shown on horseback. But even if their iconographies are sometimes similar (even identical), this does not mean that they were syncretised or identified. The iconography of Baal and Reshep is also the same – that of a menacing god – but they are nevertheless independent gods. Baal-Seth is shown with Astarte, but never together with his supposed consort Anat.

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[20] Forming a divine pair with the seated male (Ilu) **Fig. 17**? Both wear the same long cloaks and hold their hands in a gesture of blessing.

CONCLUSIONS

As Keel & Uehlinger (1998:109) observed, in spite of the dominance of the male deities and the war iconography in Palestine, the image of the naked goddess (which was so typical in the Middle Bronze Age), continued in the Late Bronze Age. The medium of visual expression was the terracotta plaque. One specific type was studied in this book and identified as "Qedeshet". As has been argued, she was an independent Syro-Palestinian goddess, popular in non-royal circles, also in Egypt[21] and even Cyprus.

At the Syrian site of Ugarit there are various goddess types: the suckling goddess, the mistress of the animals, the armed goddess, the seated blessing figure in bronze and especially the "Qedeshet" figure on metal pendants.

The iconography of the goddess Asherah remains unclear. It is like the substance mercury, when one thinks one has a grip on it, it slips away again. Asherah is perhaps the seated ruler as well as the blessing ruler, but to go further is impossible, unless an item with an inscription is found. Her iconography will perhaps only become clearer when the "Qedeshet" terracottas are studied in comparison with other material and from other periods. To clarify this issue other representations, such as the thousands of seal-amulets and figures in clay, have to be studied – in relation to the problematic iconography of Asherah – but this forms part of a future study.[22]

This study has shown that the goddesses of Syro-Palestine had *many faces*. There was not only one goddess, but a multiplicity of goddess images, some of which we can identify as Anat, Astarte or Qedeshet, and reluctantly perhaps with Asherah.

[21] Hulin (1982) raised some doubts concerning the widespread popularity of Asiatic deities in Egypt: it was limited to specified sections of the community and DeM is an unique case.

[22] The iconography of Asherah in the period *before* 1500 BCE has received very little attention, although the naked goddess on seals has been tentatively identified as Asherah by Williams-Forte (quoted in Hackett 1989:70n12).

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

The items are ordered according to the following *three* categories:
The five main iconographic *types:*

- armed goddess: Cat 1.1-1.10.
- seated goddess: Cat 2.1-2.7
- standing goddess: Cat 3.1-3.13
- equestrian goddess: Cat 4.1-4.27
- naked woman holding objects ("Qedeshet"): Cat 5.1-5.62

Medium: relief-stelae, statues, bronzes, ivories, pendants, seal-amulets, terracotta plaques, etc.
Abbreviations:

b = bronze	p = pendant
cs = cylinder seal	pl = plaque
h. = height	rs = relief-stela
i = ivory	st = statue
l. = length	tp = terracotta plaque
o = ostracon	

Provenances: from Syria to Egypt, then unknown origin.
The *description* of each individual entry is according to the following categories:

Object: Museum collection/inventory number or item name/number if present location is unknown, present location (if the name of the Museum is included in the item name the name of the collection is excluded, cf. abbreviations), provenance with notes on find context. The object is described with reference to the medium, quality (detailed description in literature is cited), size in mm. and date (all BCE).

Bibliography: First of all a definite publication is given, followed by other literature. In cases where a detailed bibliography is quoted this is indicated by [B!] Older literature which appears in such detailed bibliographies is not repeated. If publications include a photograph, drawing, translation of text on the item or notes on this, it is indicated by [P], [D], and [T].

Iconographic description: A full iconographic description is given taking into account the pose/gesture, attributes such as headdresses, weapons, animal pedestals, scepters and symbols, relation to other figures (deities and worshippers) and objects (offerings), etc.

Note: The *pages* of the main discussion in Chapter 2 are indicated in brackets after the item number. The number references in the catalogue are the same as the numbering of the plates.

1. *The armed goddess*: Cat 1.1-1.10

Cat 1.1 (21) **BM EA 191** (earlier 646). Limestone rs: 750 x 480 (detail in Cornelius 1994:62-63) lower register (for upper register see **Cat 5.1**), presumably DeM (Spalinger 1978:516) 19th dyn.

Cornelius 1994:62 [B!]-63 [T], 75, Pl. 22:RR30 [P], Fig. 14 [D]. Ackermann 1992:14n35; Bierbrier 1982:91, Fig. 64 [P]; Bowman 1978:218, 243 [T]; Budge 1969:II:280 [D]; Cornelius 1993:22, 38, Pl. II:Fig. 4 [P]; Delcor 1982:151; Dussaud 1941:107-108, Fig. 33 [D]; Eaton 1969:104 [T], 129 [P]; Edwards 1955:49; Fulco in Eliade 1987:I:263; Galling 1977:113a; Giveon 1986:8; Grdseloff 1942:24; Haas 1994:358, Fig. 64 [D]; Hall 1930:371 [P]-372; Helck 1968-1969, 1971:155; Kang 1989:78; Kitchen 1980:III:603, 2000:413-414 [T]; Lanzone 1885:Pl. XLIII(a) [D]; le Lasseur 1919:229, Fig. 93 [D]; Lipiński 1992:368, Fig. 275 [P]; Loewenstamm 1982:122; Müller 1918:157 [D]; Oldenburg 1969:85; Olyan 1988:71n5; Patai 1990:56, Pl. 25 [P]; Pettey 1990:180; Pope 1971a:926 [P]; Quirke 1992, 47, Fig. 26 [P]; Sadek 1987:158-159, 161 [T], 209; Serwint 2002:334-335, Fig. 9 [P]; Shaw & Nicholson 1995:32 [P]; Wegner 1981:198; Wyatt 1984:333.

A female figure menacing a battle-axe above her head is sitting on a low-backed throne, slightly raised. In her right hand she holds a shield (rectangular with rounded top and band) and a spear together in front of her. She wears the *atef* crown and is dressed in a tight-fitting ankle-lenght dress, fastened over her shoulders by two straps (in profile). Around her neck is a collar. The feet are bare and held together. The figure is facing to the left. In front of her is an offering table with a fowl, incense and loaves of bread, below the table are lettuce plants (as with Min on the upper register) and a container. Three worshippers are approaching her. The first two (a man and a woman) are in a gesture of adoration, followed by a boy holding a lotus stalk and a fowl. (Original studied December 2000)

Cat 1.1a (23) **Hetepka**. Present location unknown. Fragments of limestone relief (Martin: shrine, van Sicelen: lintel) (largest scene 858 x 660 [Martin], total scene 243 x 125 [Van Sicelen 1991:132]) from debris in SE corner section 7 North Saqqarah tomb of Hetepka (Egypt Exploration Society) with figures in sunk relief, Ramses II (1304-1237). Reconstruction by van Sicelen.

Martin 1979:47, Pl. 41-2:147 [D]. *PM*2 III:824; van Sicelen 1991 [D].

Mirror image of standing figure facing the king who is making an offering to her. She wears an *atef* crown with streamers, sundisk and horns and is brandishing a hand-weapon above the head, in the other hand is a large curved shield (with spear?). Behind her is a sun- shade.

Cat 1.2 (23) **UC 14399**. Provenance unknown. rs: limestone fragment (420 x 390), sunken relief with head of the ram yellow, traces of red on goddess. Ramses II or III (1304-1237, 1198-1166).

Stewart 1976:8, Pl. 5 (top) [D]. Cornelius 1993:25; Leclant 1960:13-15, Fig. 2 [P]; Spycket 1981:345n245; Stadelmann 1967:95; Wegner 1981:197.

Woman with *atef* crown with sundisk and ribbon tied around her crown (Stewart fillet) with raised shaft of hand-weapon visible (according to Stewart this is a mace or a spear). Her other arm is not visible nor is the part of her body below the knot tied around her waist. She faces towards the left and presumably wore a long tight-fitting skirt. Behind her is a cartouche (*wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*) crowned by an *atef* crown with ram's horns and uraei with sundisks.

Cat 1.3 (24) **L AO 14.811**. Minet el Beida 1931 (RS 3.041) LB graveyard, haematite cs, Egyptianized but with Western Asiatic traditions, 23 x 11, c. 1450-1350.

Amiet 1992:53 [B!], 58 [P] [D] (No. 92); Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:12 [P] [D]-13 [B!]. Amiet 1995:240-241, Fig. 4 [P]; Cornelius 1999a:598-599 [D]; Digard 1975:No. 3025 [P] [B!]; Keel 1981:206-207, Fig. 24 [D]; Keel *et al*. 1990:51 (Fig. 27 [D]), 53-54, 274-276.

The pharaoh in a long dress with the blue crown and uraeus sits on a throne and shoots at three animals: a bird, a lion and a caprid. Behind him stands a smaller figure with the *atef* crown and a long decorated dress, facing towards the left and holding a lance or spear with the other hand in a raised menacing position but empty. In front of the lion is an "X ", above the bird are circles and there are rosettes above the lion and in front of the king. Also visible between the two main figures is a bull's head with disk between the horns.

Cat 1.4 (25) **Beirut National Museum Dept. of Antiquities 16596** (KL 70:847). Kamid el-Loz (Kumidi) LB level T1, shrine D; high quality b 92 x 32, with tangs under feet and loop on the back of the neck.

Metzger 1993:65-66, 333 [B!], No. 1114, Pls. 5:7 [P], 22:2 [D], 193 (map). Hachmann 1983:164, No. 110 [P]; Moorey & Fleming 1984:80; Orthmann 1975:480-481, No. 407a [P]; Seeden 1980:110-111 [B], Pls. N [P], 103 [D] (No. 1728); Spycket 1981:345.

Barefooted female figure wearing an *atef* crown and tight-fitting long dress reaching up to the naked breasts. This is decorated with a fishbone pattern (Seeden: chevron and crosses), with indications of a belt around the waist and a seam. She also wears a necklace. The one hand is raised

menacingly and there is a fist with a hole for a lost weapon, the other hand is hanging down close to the body and is also with a hollow fist.

Cat 1.5 (24-26) **Beirut National Museum Dept. of Antiquities 16589**. From the Biqa, 2nd mill. b 185 x 57.

Parrot *et al*. 1975:70, Fig. 69 [P colour]; Seeden 1980:109, Pl. 102 [D] (No. 1723). Cornelius 1994:128; Falsone 1986:70, n54.

Female figure wearing a horned headdress (the horns are curved and casted on the helmet with the right one partly damaged), long dress, with collar. She has pierced ears, is barefoot with the right hand raised, the other hand held in front. Both hands are empty but have holes for weapons which are lost.

Cat 1.6 (24-26) **L AO 22.265** (previously coll. de Clercq, purchased in 1967). Syrian "Tartus" b (163 h.), solid-cast in lost wax process, purchased, dated 14th-13th cent. (Collon).

Collon, Crouwel & Littauer 1976. Cornelius 1993:25, 1994;129; Gubel 1986:59, No. 133 [P]; Lipiński 1996:153n235; Littauer & Crouwel 1979:145-147, Fig. 83 [D]; Moorey & Fleming 1984:75; Negbi 1976:6, 144 [B!], Pl. 5 [P](No. 22); Seeden 1980:109-110 [B!], Pls. N [P] and 103 [D] (No. 1725); Spycket 1981:428 [B]-429, Pl. 280 [P]; Winter 1987:228-230, Fig. 212 [D]; Wyatt 1984:332.

Females with long dresses, belts, large ears and slender bodies standing in a chariot. The larger figure on the right wears an *atef* crown with a large sundisk and ram's horns. Her right hand is raised (not visible on the photograph behind the second figure but compare Seeden Pl. N, definitely not held around the shoulder as in Wyatt), but the weapon is lost. The other hand is also empty and held out to the front. She has hair or a ribbon at the back. To her left is a female charioteer with quiver on her back, damaged headdress with curved horns. The right forearm is lost, the other hand stretched out forward as to hold the reins of the chariot.

Cat 1.7 (26) **Heliopolis**. Heliopolis El-Hisn (discovered 1970) in situ victory column from Libyan war of Merenptah (1237-1226), 1370 h. of red granite.

Bakry 1973:10 [D]-11; Kitchen 1982:IV:38 [T]; Sourouzian 1989:56-57, Fig. 16a centre right [D] (wrong view!) [P]. Cornelius 2000:72, Fig. 2 [D], 77 [T]; Raue 1999:368-371, esp. 370.

Relief of pharaoh Merenptah (not shown on the photograph) offering incense to a woman in a long dress with an *atef* crown with horns and a long ribbon hanging from it. She faces the left and is holding a fenestrated battleaxe in front of her, the left arm is hanging down with an *ankh*.

Cat 1.8 (26) **UC 14392**. Remaining upper right-hand part of round limestone rs (190 x 220), badly damaged on the right, sunk relief with incised hieroglyphs, from Memphis (temple of Ptah), Merenptah (1237-1226).

Leclant 1960:10-13 [B!], Fig. 1 [P]; Petrie 1909:8, 19, Pl. 15:37 [D]; Stewart 1976:50, Pl. 41.2 [D]. Ackermann 1989:112; Cornelius 1993:24, 1994:75, Fig. 13 [D]; Eaton 1969:107; Helck 1966:3, 1971a:458; Herrmann 1969:51, 1999:94; Kitchen 1982:IV:52 [T]; le Lasseur 1919:240-241; *PM*[2] III:833; Pritchard 1969a:250n18; Sourouzian 1989:46, Fig. 13 [D]; Stadelmann 1967:104.

Merenptah with incense making an offering to Ptah in a kiosk, above is a winged sun. To the right stands a woman facing the left. Her face is damaged, but she wears a crown which is also damaged (with Hathor naos and volutes?) with ribbon at the back and what may be part of her hair hanging down just below her ear. She is dressed in a long tight-fitting garment and is holding in her left hand which may be a staff or part of a spear and in the other hand what looks like a curved shield.

Cat 1.9 (27) **Aleppo A 4625**. Surface find from the acropolis of Ras Shamra 1930 (RS 2.[038]), west of Baal temple: limestone rs 930 (h.), dated 14th-13th centuries with Yon (1991:293).

Yon 1991:291 [B!]-293, Figs. 6:3 [D], 9c [D] [P]. Caquot & Sznycer 1980:13; Cornelius 1993:26, 1994:144; Delcor 1982:154; Eaton 1969:117-118, 143 [P]; Frankfort 1996:244; Gese 1970:159; Niehr 1994:420, 426; Pritchard 1969:No. 492 [P]; Seeden 1980:145, Pl. 136:3 [D]; Wyatt 1984:332, 1992:419, 1999b:582, 2002:286n160, 397n15.

A female with thonged sandles holds a spear in front in her left hand with the point showing upwards. She faces the right, but her head is missing and the upper part of her body is damaged. The lower part of the long dress is covered by wings. In her right hand she holds an object which might possibly represent the Egyptian *ankh*.

Cat 1.10 (28) **RJ 35.4442**. Beitin (Bethel), from dump with MBII and LBIA objects. Frit cylinder seal with vertical lines on the sides: 26 x 11. c. 1300.

Cornelius 1994:75, 173 [B!] -174 [T], Pl. 45:BM7 [P]. Burrows 1941:221, 230, Fig. 56 [D]; Cornelius 1993:24, 40, Pl. IV:Fig. 8 [D], 1999b:269, 275, Fig. 13 [D]; Eaton 1969:106-107, 130 [P]; Gray 1964:124, Fig. 45 [D]; Helck 1971:156; Herrmann 1969:51, 1999:94; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:98-99, Fig. 109 [D]; Leclant 1975b:501; Müller 1989:457; Pettey 1990:182; Serwint 2002:341; Wyatt 1984:333.

Impression: two figures with spears flanking a hieroglyph inscription. For the figure on the left cf. Cornelius 173 (identified as Baal). The female

figure on the right wears the *atef* crown with two ribbons hanging from her crown down her back and is dressed in a long tight-fitting skirt. Her right hand holds a spear with the point facing upwards, the other hand hanging down is empty.

2. *The seated goddess*: Cat 2.1-2.7

Cat 2.1 (29) **EC JE 6336**. Tanis (perhaps from Pi-Ramses: Kitchen 1999:294), temple of Anat (?) SW sector (Montet July 1931) black granite life-size st Ramses II (1304-1237).

PM IV:24 [B!]. Bowman 1978:225-226 [T]; Cornelius 1993:23, 1994:76; Delcor 1982:151; Eaton 1969:111, 139 [P]; Helck 1971b:460n127 [T], 462; Keel 1994b:158; Kitchen 1979:II:446, 1996:273 [T]; Leclant 1960:9, 1975a:254; Maier 1986:139n99; Oldenburg 1969:84; Pritchard 1943:78; Stadelmann 1967:92 [T]; Uphill 1984:69; Winter 1987:400; Wyatt 1984:332.

Two seated figures with the back of the seat forming a concave stela. The female figure on the right with an *atef* crown with horns extending to the side. She wears a tight-fitting long dress covering her neck and ankles. Around her neck is a collar. Her one hand is resting on her left knee, the other resting on the left shoulder of pharaoh Ramses II.

Cat 2.2 (30-31) **L AO 17.242**. Ugarit 1933 (RS 5.089) acropolis tomb IV, cs haematite 19 x 10, 16-15th cent. “Popular Mitannian”.

Amiet 1992:35 [B!], 37 [P] [D] (No. 47), Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:16-21 [B!] [P] [D]. Amiet 1977:Fig. 795 [P], 1979-1980:163, Fig. 1 [D]; 1982:33, Fig. 16 [D], 1995:240-241, Fig. 3 [P]; Beyer 1981:44-45, Fig. 55 [P]; Brody 1998:29, 70, Fig. 8 [D]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:27, Pl. XXIIIa [P]; Cornelius 1993:33, 45, Pl. IX:Fig. 25c [D]; Eaton 1969:118; Galling 1977:114-115, Fig. 31:5 [D]; Gese 1970:159, Fig. 16 [D]; Knauf 1994:245, Fig. 19b) [D]; Patai 1990:61, Pl. 24 [P]; Salje 1990:132 [D], Pl. XXV [D] (No. 439); Seeden 1980:145, 147, Pl. 138:25 [D]; Weippert 1988:307-308, Fig. 3.53:3 [D]; Winter 1987:453-455, Fig. 496 [D].

Impression: winged female in long dress with horned helmet with knob sitting on a reclining young steer. She is facing the right and has her hand on the animal’s mouth. With her left hand she is holding a lion on a leash. The animal has a mane, is facing away from the figure but his paws are resting on her knees (?). There is a second lion. A naked female with a lock of hair and the arms hanging down, her body facing the front but her face turned to the right, is standing on these two animals. She is again flanked by two kneeling figures, the one on the right has his hand on her left shoulder, the other one seems to hold a sun in a crescent. Above the right wing is a hand and there

might be another hand between the second kneeling figure and the standing figure.

Cat 2.3 (31) **OIC A34494**. Tell Fekheryeh sounding IV field no. F 267, Mitannian style clay bulla (sealing 86), 13th cent., size c. 20 (h.).

Cornelius 1994:170 [B!], Pl. 44:BM1 [D]; Kantor in McEwan 1958:78-79, Pl. 79:XLIV:86 [P] (reconstruction Pl. 73:XLIV [D]= **Fig. 16**). Keel 1992:153, 166, Fig. 133 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1996:126-127, Fig. 159 [D].

Seated woman facing the right, in a long dress with a long lock of hair and rounded cap holding a bird-topped standard. She has the other (right) hand in a gesture of blessing and is faced by a striding menacing male figure (cf. Cornelius) who is also grasping the same standard. Behind the goddess is a bird-headed figure holding a plant and behind the male god a smaller female figure, above her head is a sun-disk in a crescent. There is another smaller staff/standard between the two main figures.

Cat 2.4 (31-32) **L AO 19.397**. b (h. 248 including tang; Seeden: 97,95% copper with minimal impurities) with grooves on back with remains of sheet gold coating, from NW palace area of Ugarit 1937 (RS 9.277), called LB/MB sanctuary (Yon "temple hourrite", 19-18th cent.), cf. for date Negbi 1976:92n30.

Negbi 1976:90-92, 186-187 [B!], Fig. 103 [D], Pl. 49 [P] (No. 1648). Amiet 1977:Fig. 488 [P]; Bienkowski & Millard 2000:17 [D]; Bossert 1951:40, 175 [P] (No. 570); Caquot & Sznycer 1980:25, Pl. XVa [P]; Cornelius 1999a:593; Courtois 1979:col. 1213; Dever 1984:23, Fig. 2 [D]; Dussaud 1949:61-62, Fig. 25 [D]; Fitzgerald 1989:433; Frankfort 1996:258-259, Fig. 298 [P]; Galling 1977:114a; Garbini 1960:323; Gray 1964:162, 164, 234, Pl. 49 [P]; Korpel 2001:131-132, Fig. 23 [D]; Leick 1991:Fig. 33 [P]; Merhav 1985:31; Merhav & Ornan 1979:93-94, Figs 8a-b [D]; Patai 1990:Pl. 21 [P]; Parrot 1961:81-84, Pl. IV [P], Fig. 43 [D]; Pritchard 1969:165 [P], 305 (No. 480); von Reden 1992:216, Pl. 33 [P], Abb. 29 (in situ photograph)-30 [P]; Seeden 1982:117-118 [B!], Fig. 24 [P]; Spycket 1981:271-272, Pl. 184 [P]; Winter 1987:447-448, Fig. 480 [D]; Yon 1997:142-143, Fig. 16 [P].

Seated female figure set on base with tang. She wears a long dress with naked feet but the upper part of the breasts is exposed. It is decorated with a pattern and has a cord wrapped around the neck, the breasts and the waist, perhaps related to the rolled border cloak. The headdress is an unusual type of turban. The right hand is open as if she is receiving something and the other held a lost object (staff/sceptre?).

Cat 2.5 (31-32) **Aleppo 4529**. b (h. 115, total 124) with tangs on the feet and buttocks from Ugarit acropolis level I, found west of the Baal temple, LB.

Negbi 1976:46, 48, 171 [B!], Fig. 54 [D] (No. 1441). Barnett 1978:28*; Dussaud 1949:69-70, Fig. 37 [P]; Garbini 1960:324; Jirku 1956:Pl. 19:6 [P]; Kohlmeyer & Strommenger 1982:133-134 [P] (No. 120); Pfeiffer 1962:31 [P]; Roeder 1956:38, Fig. 56 [D]; Schaeffer 1971:147-148, Fig. 8 [P]; Seeden 1982:118 [B!]; Weiss 1985:132 [P]-133 (No. 132).

Seated barefoot female in Egyptian garb: *atef* crown and a long dress decorated with embroidery, visible around the neck is a broad collar, an Isis-knot and a x-pattern below. Her right hand is in a gesture of blessing and the other hand is empty.

Cat 2.6a-b (33) **Ugarit 1**. Present location unknown. Small electrum repoussé plaque pendants (h. 80 and 65) found at Ugarit in Mycenean vase below building north of the "residence" (Niv. I), 14-13th cent., present location unknown.

a: Negbi 1976:100-102, 191 [B!], Fig. 120 [D] (No. 1704); Dever 1984:23, Fig. 3a [D], 1990:144, 146, Fig. 49 [D]; Frevel 1995:877; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:252; Metzger 1985:246-247, Pl. 109:1155-1156 [D]; Winter 1987:448, Fig. 481 [D].

b: Negbi 1976:101, 119, 191 [B!], Fig. 134 [D] (No. 1703); Dever 1984:23, Fig. 3B [D], 1990:144, 146, Fig. 49 [D]; Metzger 1985:246-247, Pl. 109:1156 [D]; Winter 1987:448, Fig. 482 [D].

Women on both items facing the right holding plants sitting on a high-backed chair with bull's feet. They both wear wigs and are dressed in a long dress. The first example is clearer with decorated chair and dress.

Cat 2.7 (33-34) **L AO 11.601**. Raised relief on ivory box-cover (h. 137) from tomb III Minet el-Beida (Ugarit 1931), 14th cent.

Metzger 1983:54ff., n1-2 [B!], Fig. 1 [D]. Amiet 1977:Fig. 79 [P] (colour); Barnett 1982:30, Pl. 24b [P]; Bossert 1951:45 [B], 201 [P] (No. 663); Caubet 1995:2688 [P], 2000:219 [P colour], 2002:29 [P], 2002a:222; Caubet & Matoian 1995:106-107, Fig. 4 [P]; Cornelius 1989:62, 1993:21, 33, 37, Pl.I:Fig. 1 [D], 1999b:598; Courtois 1979:col. 1283; Day 1992:187-188, Fig. 1 [D]; Delcor 1974:9; Dussaud 1949:85-86, Fig. 48 [D]; Gachet 1992:69, 86, Fig. 3b [D]; Gachet-Bizollon 2001:32n41; Galling 1977:114; Gese 1970:154-155, Fig. 14 [D]; Gray 1964:231, Pl. 32 [P], 1969:74-75 [P]; Gubel 1999:51 [P colour]; Helck 1971:218, Fig. 190 [D]; Hrouda in *RlA* III:492-493; Keel 1984:41, 129, Fig. 11 [D], 1992:60-61, Fig. 11 [D], 1994:55, Fig. 11 [D], 1998:31, Fig. 43 [D]; Klengel 1980:117, Pl. 45 [P]; Lang 2002:Fig. 14 [D]; Maier 1986:125n11; Parrot *et al.* 1975:83, Fig. 84 [P]; Patai 1990:Pl. 19 [P];

Pettey 1990:177; Pfeiffer 1962:13 [P]; Pope & Röllig 1965:251-252, Pl. IV:5 [P]; Pritchard 1943:35 (No. 2); von Reden 1992:134, Abb. 14 [P]; Ringgren 1979:213; Robinson 1983:57 [P colour]-58; Sauer 1996:86, Fig. 36 [P]; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 2000:86; Seibert 1973:Pl. 47 [P colour]; Smith 2002:113 [B]; Stéphan 1996:83-84 [P]; Wegner 1981:200n636; Xella 1984:89 [P]; Yon 1997:back cover [P colour], 1997a:365-366, Fig. 5a [P]; www.louvre.fr/francais/ collec/ao/ao11601/ao_f.htm.

Sitting woman with nude upper part, full skirt, naked feet resting on what could be interpreted as a mountain (Barnett: altar (?)). She is holding plants or stalks of grain and is depicted with the head and lower body in profile and the upper torso frontal facing. The woman is flanked by two billy goats reared on their hind feet with one pair of their front legs in the air, the other resting on part of the "mountain". Around her coiffure is a diadem and around her neck a necklace. She has a curl in front of her hair and at the back is a pony tail, some hair falls down her neck.

3. *The standing goddess*: Cat 3.1-3.13

Cat 3.1 (34) **RJ 36.920**. Upper part of defaced basalt rs (440 x 390 x 130), Egyptianized, outlined with inscription above from Beisan lower level V, below floor of locus 1024 (northern "temple of Ramses III"), presumably from an earlier period but re-used; date 12-10th cent.

Rowe 1930:32-33, Pl. 50:2 [P], 1940:31, 33-34, Pls. XXXV:3 [D], LXVA:1 [P]. Ackermann 1992:13; Bowman 1978:217 [T]-218; Burrows 1941:218, 230; Cook 1925:105, Pl. XXIV:1 [D]; Cornelius 1993:23, 39, Pl. III:Fig. 5 [D], 1994:76, Fig. 17 [D]; Daviau & Dion 1994:161; Day 1999:38; Delcor 1982:151-152; Eaton 1969:111-112, 138 [P]; Gese 1970:156; Gray 1964:124, 229, Pl. 23 [P], 1979:320; Helck 1971b:462; Horn 1969:41; James 1966:34, 39, 171; James & McGovern 1993:250: No. 11; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:97, 99, Fig. 108 [D]; Kitchen 1983:V:255 [T]; Leclant 1960:9, 1975a:254; Leibovitch 1942:85; Maier 1986:139n99, 1992:226; Mazar, in: Stern 1993:218 [P], 220; Oldenburg 1969:84; Patai 1990:Pl. 56 [P]; *PM* VII:379; Pritchard 1943:79, 1969a:249; Ringgren 1979:214; Scandone-Matthiae 1997:169; Selz 2000:36; Stadelmann 1967:96 [T]; Thompson 1967:116, 130-132; Uehlinger 1991:881-882; Vincent 1928:540ff., Pl. XXVI:1 [D]; Weippert 1988:306; Welten 2001:693; Wimmer 1990:1077-1079, 1994:39; Winter 1987:250n232; Wyatt 1984:331; Zwickel 1994:183n732, 241.

Woman with an *atef* crown facing the right, she is dressed in a long tight-fitting garment, the feet lost and standing with a sceptre (*was* or pluriform) in the left hand and holding an *ankh* in her right hand. She is faced

by an Egyptian worshipper in a gesture of praise, between them is an offering table with a lotus flower and a jar.

Cat 3.2 (34) **UM 29-107-949**. Soft limestone rs (372 x 170 x 97) deeply incised, lotus flowers slightly incised, from Beisan (1925) level VII, great court of “temple of Amenophis III” locus 1072 near southern receptacle, 13th cent.

Rowe 1930:19, 21, Pl. 48:2 [P], 1940:6, 8, 12, 31, Pls. XXXV:5 [D] and XLIXA:1 [P]. Burrows 1941:218; Cook 1925:125-126, Pl. XXVII:2 [P]; Cornelius 1993:25; Daviau & Dion 1994:161; Delcor 1986:1083; Eaton 1969:112-113, 138; Galling 1977:113, Pl. 31:1 [D]; Gese 1970:159n440; Higginbotham 2000:236; James 1966:171; James & McGovern 1993:240, 250: No. 10; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:97, 99, Fig. 107 [D]; Leclant 1960:9; Nakhai 2001:137; Oldenburg 1969:44; *PM* VII:377; Pope & Röllig 1965:232, 252, Pl. V:7 [P]; Pritchard 1969:164 [P], 305 (No. 475); Ringgren 1979:213; Scandone-Matthiae 1997:169, Stadelmann 1967:106; Thompson 1967:126, 1970:32; Uehlinger 1991:881-882; Weippert 1988:306-307, Fig. 3.53:1 [D]; Welten 2001:693; Wimmer 1990:1077, 1097, Winter 1987:250, Fig. 241; 1994:39; Wyatt 1984:331; Zwickel 1994:183.

Woman standing on a base-line, facing the right, her feet pointing to the right with the left foot slightly in front of the right foot. She wears an *atef* crown with horns extending to the side (the point of the one on the left is not clear) and with ribbon hanging over her right arm. There is a collar around her neck and she is dressed in a long tight-fitting skirt, emphasising her backside, tummy and legs, flaring out below her knees. She is holding a pluriform-sceptre in her left hand in front of her and an *ankh* in the right hand hanging down. Facing her is a much smaller woman in a similar dress (!) with lotus on her head and holding a lotus flower in her left hand towards her nose. The other arm is not very clear but presumably hanging down. There are vertical lines, but no legible hieroglyphs.

Cat 3.3 (35) **Balu^{c}a. Jordan Archaeological Museum Amman**. Weathered black basalt rs (h. 183) from Balu^{c}a (1930), found facing downwards in upper debris of room N of the north addition to the Kasr (Crowfoot 1934:81), c. 1200-1000, irregularly conical shaped top curving downwards and out towards the base, upper panel with inscription (still illegible but cf. Ward & Martin) and lower panel with raised relief.

Ward & Martin 1964 ([B!] [P] [D] [T]; esp. p. 16). Bossert 1951:95, 357 [P] (No. 1232); Burrows 1941:218; Conrad 1971:170-171; Cornelius 1993:26, 1994:59, 144-145, Fig. 6 [D]; Daviau & Dion 2002:44-45 [P]; Dearman 1992:70-71, Fig. 8.4 [D]; Gese 1970:140-141, Fig. 10 [D], Gray

1969:73; Higginbotham 2000:237-240, Fig. 16 [D]; Keel 1996:290, Fig. 416 [D]; Mattingly 1989:223-224 [B!], Fig. 2 [D], 1992:60 [B!]; Mazar 1992:267; *PM* VII:382 [B!]; Pritchard 1969:167 [P], 306 (No. 488); Staubli 1991:64-66 [B], Fig. 52 [D]; Uehlinger 1991:881; Weippert 1988:308n13; Welten 1977:120, Fig. 32:5 [D], 2001:690-691; Wimmer 1994:39; Wyatt 1984:332; Zayadine 1986:93 [P], 1987:118 [P]; van Zyl 1960:110-111, 196.

On the right is a woman with an *atef* crown, *ankh* in the right hand, other hand hanging down, broad bead collar, dressed in sheath dress with sash and trailing ends. To her left is another god and a king (cf. Staubli; Ward & Martin). Between the woman and the male god is a crescent moon.

Cat 3.4 (35) **Tura**. Second register of rs in the quarries at Tura, fourth year of Amenophis II (1454-1419) facing various deities. Lost?

Vyse 1842:95 [D]. Badawi 1948:35 [T]; Cornelius 2000:72-73, Fig. 3 [D], 77 [T]; Helck 1966:3n7, 1971b:456 [B][T]; Herrmann 1969:50, 1999:93-94 [T]; Müller 1918:156 [D]; *PM* IV:74:2 [B]; van Sicelen 1991:134n10; Stadelmann 1967:104; Uphill 1984:234.

In the centre is a female in a long dress with an *atef* crown (head damaged), holding a *was* sceptre in the left hand and an *ankh* in the right hand. She is facing the right together with other Memphite deities and the pharaoh is on the right hand-side.

Cat 3.5 (35) **Abu Simbel**. Abu Simbel, in situ rs of pharaoh Ramses-Siptah (1215-1209) with various deities, carved in rock in the recess to the north of the Great Temple and to the west of the entrance to the northern chapel, upper register.

PM VII:99:11 [B!] Cornelius 1994:75, 2000:73, Fig. 4 [D], 77 [T]; Habachi 1981:181-182; Helck 1971b:457; Herrmann 1969:50, 1999:93 [T]; Kitchen 1982:IV:362 [T]; Leclant 1975b:501, 506n43; Maier 1986:140n100; Stadelmann 1967:106; Vandier 1969:189.

Standing woman on the left facing the right, dressed in a long dress. She wears an *atef* crown, holds an *ankh* symbol in her right hand (hanging down) and holds what looks more like a pluriform sceptre (Helck) than a *was* sceptre (Stadelmann) in the other hand in front of her.

Cat 3.6 (35) **L E 26017**. Upper part of purchased limestone rs (485 x 525 x 85), Ramses II (1304-1237).

Vandier 1969:193-194 [T], Pl. VIIb [P]. Cornelius 1993:24, 1994:75; Goldwasser 1992:49-50, Fig. 3 [P]; Kitchen 1979:II:779, 1996:514 and 1999:508 [T]; Leclant 1975b:505n34; Mesnil du Buisson 1969:524; van Sicelen 1991:134.

Pharaoh offering incense and flowers to a woman in a long dress (lower part missing) facing the left, with *atef* crown, holding a sceptre with a missing top. There is an offering table in the centre and above is a reclining animal with the head of the Egyptian god Seth.

Cat 3.7 (35) **L AF 2576**. SW Tanis, part of sanctuary of Mut, before N wall of vestibule of temple of Anat (cf. *LdÄ* VI:198, 202). Badly damaged red granite double st 206 x 95 x 81, Ramses II (1304-1237).

PM IV:24 [B!]. Altenmüller in *LdÄ* III:603, n377; Bowman 1978:227 [T], 233; Cornelius 1993:23, 1994:76; Eaton 1969:111; Helck 1971b:462; Keel 1994b:158; Kitchen 1979:II:445, 1996:273 [T]; Leclant 1960:9, 1975a:254, 256; Maier 1986:139n99; Oldenburg 1969:84; Pritchard 1943:79; Stadelmann 1967:91-92 [T]; Uphill 1984:65; Winter 1987:400.

Headless figures standing on base with backs against a stela. The woman on the right is dressed in a long garment (but broken below the knees so it is not clear how long it was) with part of band over her right shoulder, breasts exposed, fastened with a sash with ribbons hanging down the front part of her legs. Also visible are armlets and anklets (the “collar” of Bowman is not visible). Her left arm is missing but she is holding the pharaoh (on her right-hand-side) by the right hand.

Cat 3.8 (35) **Brooklyn Museum New York 54.67**. Presumably from a private tomb at Saqqara (other authors from Tanis), upper part of re-used soft limestone relief (637 x 335). Central section in raised relief, side parts in sunk relief, lower part broken away and crack through the figure of Anat, damaged figure of Ramses II (1304-1237) on the right. Cooney argued that the block was “hurriedly finished”, but according to Habachi (1971:72) the raised relief against a cut-down background indicates the importance of the figures. Eaton-Krauss (1993:20) interprets this as a structural element for statues. Kitchen (1999:290) reiterates on the use at a festival.

Cooney 1956:27-28, Pls. 51 (No. 31) [P] and 52c [P]. Cornelius 2000:71-72, Fig. 1 [D], 77 [T]; Eaton-Krauss 1993:20 [T]-23; Habachi 1969:42, 1971:71; Kitchen 1979:II:431, 1996:259, 1999:289-290 [T]; Mysliwiec 1976:109, 113, Pl. CIII, Fig. 230 [T]; Stadelmann 1967:95n2; Wildung 1977:25, Fig. 22 [P].

In the centre is a woman with an *atef* crown, elaborate collar, bands over her shoulders, armlets on her upper arms. The part of the relief below the armlets is missing. To her left stands the pharaoh wearing the blue crown and to the right is another royal figure.

Cat 3.8a (36) **Hecht K-65**. Limestone rs in low relief (215 x 125 x 40), 14th century, purchased, said to come from the vicinity of Tell Beit Mirsim.

Merhav 1994:Pl. II [P].

Woman with horned headdress (deity!) and sundisk, wearing a long robe. She is facing the right, hands in gesture of blessing. The figure is enframed by plants with flowers.

Cat 3.9 (36) **Damascus Museum Š3574** (RS 23.395). Bronze (h. 258 width 60) with gold plating from goldsmith's workshop Ugarit 1960 southern village, feet on tangs, arms cast seperately, grooves on sides and back for layer of finer material, LB.

Negbi 1976:114-116, 185 [B!], Fig. 129 [D] (No. 1630). Amiet 1977:Fig. 78 [P colour]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:24, Pl.XIVa [P]; Caubet 1996:530; Cornelius 1999b:593; Courtois 1979:cols. 1266-1267, Fig. 907 [D]; Kohlmeyer & Strommenger 1982:135 [P]-136 (No. 123); Korpel 2001:131, Fig. 24 [D], 133; Lang 2002:Fig. 25 [D]; Merhav 1985:31, Merhav & Ornan 1979:91, Figs. 1a-b [D]; von Reden 1992:331, Pl. 48 [P]; Sauer 1996:82-83, Fig. 33 [P]; Schaeffer 1966:5ff., Pl. III [P], Fig. 2 [D], 1971:140, 144-146, Figs. 5-7 [P]; Schroer 1987:213-214, Fig. 83 [D]; Spycket 1981:344 [B]; Weiss 1985:287 [P] (No. 135).

Barefeet female with headdress missing, long dress with "rolled borders" covering the arms and the belt, right hand in gesture of blessing, other arm missing but presumably extending forward.

Cat 3.10 (37) **RJ I.3810**. Golden elongated pendant (47 x 22) of hammered sheet of gold with tang twisted to form a loop, border with incised figure, from Beisan (UM Pennsylvania 1928) level IX, Room 1403, No. 28.11.22), 14th cent.

Rowe 1940:93, Pl. LXVIIIA:5 [P]. Bossert 1951:91, 343 [P] (No. 1179); Cook 1925:125, Pl. XXVII:1 [P]; James & McGovern 1993:240; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:97, 98, Fig. 106 [D]; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:139; Mazar, in: Stern 1993:222 [P]; McGovern 1985:30f., 102, 114, Fig. 23 [D], Pl. 5 [P] (No. 65); Negbi 1976:100; Orthmann 1975:488, Pl. 426a [P]; *PM* VII:377 [B!]; Pritchard 1969:165 [P], 305 (No. 478); Tadmor in: de Montebello 1986:127 [P]-128 (No. 63); Uehlinger 1991:882; Weippert 1988:306.

Naked woman standing on line facing the right with head and feet in profile, long hair, *was* sceptre and right hand outstretched in gesture of blessing.

Cat 3.11 (37-39) **Damascus Museum 3599** (RS 16.056 + 28.031). Ugarit east wing of the royal palace NW of court (garden) III (1952-1953). Part of (centre

panel of verso) carved ivory panel from bedstead or foot panel of royal coach, 240 x 110-120, c. 1250.

Gachet-Bizollon 2001:28-36 [B!], Fig. 7 [P/D]. Caubet 1996:531, 2002a:227-228, 230, Fig. 6.7a [D]; Caubet & Poplin 1987:285-287, Fig. 17 [D]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:19, 27, Pls. XXVIIIa, XXIXb [P]; Cornelius 1999a:595; Courtois 1979:col. 1225; Curtis 1999:19-20; Eaton 1969:114-115, 141 [P]; Frevel 1995:813; Gese 1970:85, n127, 155; Gray 1964:169, 226-227, Pl. 9 [P], 1969:90-91; Greenstein 1998:110-111; Handy 1994:54, n82 [B!]; Helck 1971a:154; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:82; Kitchen 1969:97; Korpel 2001:138-139, Fig. 26 [D]; Lagarce 1983:549-551, Pl. XCVI:1 [P]; Lipiński 1972:106, n31; Loewenstamm 1982:121; Merhav 1994:38*, Fig. 2:1 [D]; Oldenburg 1969:88; Orthmann 1975:489, Pl. 427 [P]; Pettey 1990:176-177; Pope 1965:241, Fig. 2 [P], 1977:445, 657, Pl. XI [P]; Pritchard 1969:352 [P], 378-379 (No. 829); von Reden 1992:240-241, Abb. 34 [P]; Roche 2000:215 [D]; Sanmartin 1980:343, Fig. 2 [D] (headdress); Schaeffer 1954:489-490, Fig. 6 [P], 1962:150; Stéphan 1996:87 [P]-89; *TUAT* III:1235n145; Ward 1969 [B]; Walls 1992:153-154; Weippert 1985:77-78 [D]; Weippert 1988:308-309, Fig. 3.54 [D]; Winter 1987:Frontispiece [D], 397-403 [B!], Fig. 409 [D]; Wyatt 1983:273-274, n13, 1992:419; Xella 1984:87 [P]; Yon 1997:146 [B]:21 [D].

Woman with double set of wings facing the front, Hathor wig, horns with decorated sundisk: holding and breast-feeding two young boys in short kilts. She wears a long decorated dress and her feet are shown sideways pointing to the left.

Cat 3.12 (39) **Hazorea 174**. Wilfried Israel Museum, Hazorea. Akko surface find, oblong scaraboid of black stone (22 x 16 x 11), 1400-1150.

Cornelius 1994:107 [B!], Pl. 30:RM18 [P]; Keel 1997:530 [B]-531:3 [P] [D]. Bonnet 1996:65n16; Cornelius 1998;172, 2000:75, Fig. 7b [D]; Herrmann 1999:93; Lipiński 1996:257.

Winged female in tight long skirt with net pattern. She is facing the Egyptian god Ptah with *was* sceptre on a pedestal, another male figure with quiver and tassles (Cornelius: Reshep), to the left sun-disk, vulture and ram, offering stand in front of her, lotus to the right.

Cat 3.13 (39) **L AO 4654** (other side **Cat 5.30**). Bronze plaque (142 l.), purchased (from "Aïnjarr Coelé-Syria": Aiyarr). Part of axe (?) with human head (Helck sphinx [?]), part left broken away, LB.

Barrelet 1958:31ff., Pl. Ia [P]. Amiet 1977:Fig. 493 [P]; Gachet-Bizollon 2001:32, Fig. 8 [D]; Eaton 1969:118n54, 144 [P]; Galling 1977:111b; Helck 1971a:219; Winter 1987:468, Fig. 410 left [D].

Winged female with Hathor headdress facing the front, arms visible on pair of wings, topless with skirt, both feet pointing to the right

4. *The equestrian goddess*: Cat 4.1-4.26

Cat 4.1 (42) **Zawyet Sultan**. Tomb of Nefersekheru at Tell Zawyet Sultan (8 km south of Minya) excavations of FU Berlin (Osing 1977-1985), upper left part of rs, 128 x 175 x 45, front-side smoothly polished, relief slightly incised but clearly defined, c. 13th cent. Object left in tomb (letter of Osing 21/4/96).

Dominicus in: Osing 1992:23 (object 36) [D], Pl. 4 [P]. Cornelius 2000:74, Fig. 4 [D], 77 [T].

Naked female riding sidesaddle on saddleless horse. She faces to the right and wears an *atef* crown with a collar and is menacing a weapon (at an angle) above her head. There is another weapon (Dominicus "Lanze") held upright in her left hand in front of her. The horse has a bridle and a headdress of four feathers. To the right is part of an offering table and above this is a Horus falcon on a pedestal.

Cat 4.2 (42) **Kanais**. Kanais (Wadi cAbbad, Wadi Mia, Redesieh) in situ damaged relief (lower register) of high official, time of Sethos I (1314-1304), kneeling before goddess.

Leclant 1960:31-34 [B!] [T], Fig. 11 [D], Pls. IIA-B [P] [D]. Badawi 1948:32 (but note that this is not from the tomb of Tutmoses IV), Fig. 12 [D]; Brunner-Traut 1956:31, Fig. 8 [P]; Cornelius 1993:24, 39, Pl. III:Fig. 6 [D], 1994:74, Fig. 10 [D]; Dominicus in Osing 1992:23 [T]; Helck 1966:11, 1971:214 [T], 1971a:459; Hulin 1982:275; Kitchen 1975:I:73, 1993:62 [T]; Mesnil du Buisson 1969:530-531; Müller 1893:316 [D]-317 [T], 1918:157 [D]; Müller 1989:457; *PM* VII:325:29 [B]; Rommelaere 1991:234-235, No. 103 [D]; Stadelmann 1967:99-100; Weippert 1975:14, 1999:26 [T].

Figure (no clear breast to identify it as female) facing the right on prancing horse, with *atef* crown and ribbon, waiving a shield and menacing part of a hand-weapon above the head. Only the upper part of the very slim body and the front part of the horse is visible.

Cat 4.3 (42) **A E. 3897**. Thebes: Ramesseum (Quibell 1896), limestone rs (115 x 93), crudely incised, Ramses II (1304-1237).

Ashmolean Museum Annual Report 1896:2; Leclant 1960:30 [B!]-31, Fig. 10 [D]. Rommelaere 1991:236 [B!]-237, No. 109 [D]; Schulman 1957:269.

Naked figure on horseback facing towards the right, with only one leg visible, *atef* crown, cross-bands and menacing weapon above her head. The

horse has a bridle. On the lower register is a kneeling woman with incense and two offering stands.

Cat 4.4 (43) **T 50068** (suppl. 1308). DeM?, purchased by Schiaparelli in Egypt 1900-1901 rs of white limestone, rounded top, outlined, only the upper part survived, deeply incised, quality mediocre with a number of abrasions, badly damaged on the remaining lower part, 245 x 225 x 40, Tutmoses IV (1419-1410).

Tosi & Roccati 1972:104 [T] [B!], 224, 291 [P]. Cornelius 1993:24, 1994:74 n4 [T]; Donadoni-Roveri 1988:167, 170 with Fig. 232 [P]; Dussaud 1941:109-110, Fig. 34 [D]; Helck 1966:11, 1971:214, 1971b:458 [T]; Herrmann 1969:49, 1999:92; Leclant 1960:23ff [B!], Pl. IA [P], 1975b:507, n71 [T]; Dominicus in: Osing 1992:23 [T]; Maier 1986:140n100; Müller 1989:458; Pope & Röllig 1965:251 [T]; Rommelaere 1991:178-179, No. 42 [D]; Sadek 1987:156n5, 160 [T]; Stadelmann 1967:102-103 [T]; Weippert 1975:14, 1999:27 [T] [B!]; Wegner 1981:200; Wyatt 1984:335.

A nude female riding a horse, facing to the right, shooting with a bow at a Kushite with bound arms which she is pursuing (Dominicus connects this with the inscription). She holds the reins around her hips and wears an *atef* crown with a collar and armlet, behind her back hangs a small quiver. The head of the horse is damaged and the legs are not visible, part of the tail is still intact. Above is part of a winged sundisk (only the left wing is visible) and behind her is a fan.

Cat 4.4a (43) **Sudan National Museum Khartoum 62/8/20**. Buhen (1960-1 season: 1112, H8-138), rounded sandstone rs (282 x 475) found in the lower level debris of Block C, House B, Room 2, damaged on the right and lower part missing, Ramses II (1304-1237).

Smith 1976:110, Pl. XX:1:112 [D]. Kitchen 1979:II:776, 1996:498, 512 [T]; van Sicelen 1991:134n10.

Figure with white crown (Upper Egypt) with uraeus (?) and streamers/bands on horseback facing towards the right. The one hand brandishes a pear-shaped-mace (Smith: *khepesh* scimitar) above the head, and the other holds a small shield with a spear (together) in front. The lower part of the figures are missing. The horse has a sundisk with feathers. On the right is an arm and a hand with a *nw* pot.

Cat 4.5 (42-43) **Berlin A 21826**. Damaged limestone o (100 x 160) with black lines and red and yellow paint, obtained in 1918 by Wreszinski from private collection (from Thebes c. 1300-1200?).

Leclant 1960:40 [B!]-41, Pl. IIIA [P]. Brunner-Traut 1976:190, 197, Fig. 66a [P]; Galling 1977:113a; Haas 1994:415, Fig. 74 [D]; Helck 1971a:215; Keel 1996:215-216, Fig. 324 [D]; Peterson 1973:64; Pope & Röllig 1965:232, 251, Pl. IV:4 [P]; Pritchard 1969:165 [P], 305 (No. 479); Rommelaere 1991:238-239, No. 110 [D]; Sadek 1987:156n5; Schulman 1957:269; Stadelmann 1967:104; Vandersleyen 1975:343 (No. 328a [P]); Wenig 1967:19 [D]-20, 1969:43-44, Fig. 18 [D].

Naked woman (the breast with the nipple is very clear) facing the right, riding astride on a saddleless horse, slightly tilted towards the front, with legs hanging down on both sides. The right hand is raised, presumably holding a bow (although the ostracon is damaged on this spot). She has blonde (?) hair with a lotus on her head and wears a heart amulet around her neck and large earrings. It is unclear what exactly the hairdo (with pony-tail?) on the oblong head looked like. The horse (in red paint) is very clearly represented with long neck, thick main, bushy tail and bridle with reins which she is holding with the left hand.

Cat 4.6 (43) **Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm MM 14 110** (Gayer-Anderson collection). Limestine o (155 x 93) from Thebes, damaged red and black paint, c. 1300-1200?

Peterson 1973:78, Pl. 18 [P] (No. 31). Leclant 1975b:503.

Woman on horse facing the right, holding (very clear!) the reins in the raised right hand. Her breast is visible and there is a hairlock in front. Around her neck is some decoration on a line, the other hand is stretched towards the back (presumably empty). The horse is clear with tail, bridle and part of a feather decoration. The horse may have a blanket over it, but the image is too unclear to establish whether a saddle is depicted (cf. Peterson).

Cat 4.7 (43) **Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge EGA 4290-1943** (Gayer-Anderson collection). Limestone o painted with red (bodies) and black paint (outline), Ramesside (from DeM c. 1300-1200?), 73 x 117 (Brunner-Traut 75 x 113).

Brunner-Traut 1979:29-30, No. 5, Pl. V [P]. Brovarski *et al*. 1982:305-306 (No. 417) [P]; Leclant 1960:41 [B!]-43, Fig. 18 [P]; Rommelaere 1991:244 [B!]-245, No. 121 [D].

Female (the upper part of her head is broken away but the breast with a nipple is clear) riding sidesaddle on a horse trodding at a leisurely pace holding a spear (bow?) together with reins in left hand, other hand held back, around her neck is a string with an unidentifiable amulet. Part of the reins are around her body. The horse has a main, bridle and according to Brunner-Traut a blanket.

Cat 4.8 (43) **Bibliotheque Nationale de France Paris: Collection Seyrig 29**. Green fayence cs bought by Seyrig in Beirut (Byblos?), 30 (h.), 14th cent. decorated with small triangles patterns on the ends.

Leclant 1960:64-67, Pl. IB [P]. Cornelius 1993:27, 43, Pl. VIII:Fig. 18 [D], 1994:77, Fig. 18 [D], 2000:75-76, Fig. 7c [D]; Gubel & Cauet 1987:198ff., Fig. 5 [D]; Mesnil du Buisson 1969:523, Fig. 1 [D]; Stadelmann 1967:99.

Figure (seemingly naked) riding sidesaddle on horse (facing the right) with two feathers. The figure wears an *atef* crown with a ribbon, menaces a weapon above her head and holds a shield in front. She is accompanied by various animals: bull and lion and behind a lion and an antelope. Between the first pair of animals there is a circle with a point (sundisk?).

Cat 4.9 (44) **A 1892.1388**. cs (20,5 x 9) convex, glazed (now brown) steatite with hatched double linear borders, bought by Chester in Smyrna, late 2nd early 1st mill.

Buchanan 1966:200, Pl. 62 [P] (No. 1011).

Impression: figure on horse with feathers with enemy on the ground. The rider wears a crown (*atef*?), holds a shield in the right hand and raises the left hand (weapon?). The second winged figure with kilt with tassles stands on a lion, to the right a standing figure with a plant (?) and ureaus (?). Between the first two figures is an Egyptian *ankh* and a bird (?), above the last figure the sign *nb*.

Cat 4.10 (44) **A 1013.750**. cs steatite and worn (26 x 10) late 2nd early 1st mill. bought by Woolley in Deve Hüyük.

Buchanan 1966:204, Pl. 62 [P] (No. 1029).

Impression: figure on horseback menacing a weapon (headdress unclear), plant left of the figure. Dots above and dentated border.

Cat 4.11 (44) **OIC 17402**. Carnelian scarab (24 x 17 x 11) outlined, c. 15-14th cent. (?) purchased (unknown provenance: collection T.R Campbell).

Giveon 1980:150, Pl. XX:2 [D]. Cornelius 1993:27, 43, Pl. VII:Fig. 19 [D], 1994:77, Fig. 20 [D].

Figure with *atef* crown with ribbons mounted on a horse with feathers standing on a base line. The rider holds a shield and the reins and is menacing a weapon above the head. The reins are around the rider’s hips.

Cat 4.12 (44) **SM 841/73**. Scarab of whitish steatite (15 x 10), c. 14th cent. unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 41, Pl. V:Fig. 11 [P]; Leclant 1960:62-63, Fig. 30 [P].

Figure mounted on horse with plumes, *atef* crown, raised weapon and holding shield or horse in front (?). Unidentifiable sign behind the figure.

Cat 4.13 (44) **UC 38068**. Steatite scarab (14 x 10) 1300-1200, unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 42, Pl. VI:Fig. 16 [P]; Petrie 1925:28, Pl. XV:1084 [P].

Figure mounted on horse with plume (looks like a plant), *atef* crown, raised weapon (?) and holding horse in front. Unidentifiable sign behind the figure.

Cat 4.13a (44) **Private Collection, Fribourg, SK 2002.36.** Steatite scarab (14,8 x 10,8 x 6,2) c. 1300-1200, unknown provenance.

Unpublished.

Cf. **Cat 4.13**, but the figure is holding reins and with an unclear weapon behind.

Cat 4.14 (44) **Plaquette**. Pl (39 x 26), present location, material and origin unknown, c. 1300-1200.

Leclant 1960:64, Fig. 34 [P].

Figure with white crown with ribbon, mounted on horse with feathers, menacing weapon. Hieroglyphs *nb tꜣw* = “lord of the land” (twice).

Cat 4.15 (44) **SM 840/73**. Scarab of steatite (14 x 10), c. 14th cent. unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 41, Pl. V:Fig. 12 [P]; Leclant 1960:62-63, Fig. 31a [P].

Figure with *atef* crown, arms hanging passively, mounted on horse with feather (looks like a plant).

Cat 4.16 (44) **SM 839/73**. Scarab of steatite (13 x 10), c. 14th cent. unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 41, Pl. V:Fig. 13 [P]; Leclant 1960:62-63, Fig. 31c [P].

As **Cat 4.15**.

Cat 4.17 (44) **SM 838/73**. Scarab of steatite (12 x 8), c. 14th cent. unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 41, Pl. VI:Fig. 15 [P]; Leclant 1960:62-63, Fig. 31d [P].

As **Cat 4.15**.

Cat 4.18 (44) **SM 837/73**. Scarab of steatite (11 x 8), c. 14th cent. unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1993:27, 41, Pl. V:Fig. 14 [P]; Leclant 1960:62-63, Fig. 31b [P].

As **Cat 4.15**.

Cat 4.19 (44) **Private Collection, Fribourg, SK 1986.2** (earlier 95). Steatite scarab with haematite parts (16,8 x 13,3 x 8,1), purchased in Jerusalem, LB.

Keel *et al*. 1990:211ff. with Fig. 38; Keel & Uehlinger 1996:73-74 with Fig. 94e [P]. Cornelius 1993:26, 40, Pl. IV:10 [D], 1994:77, Fig. 19 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:98-99, Fig. 110 [D].

Figure with *atef* crown mounted saddleside on horse with plumes, holding horse by the neck and menacing a weapon above the head. Below lies an enemy and behind the figure is a sun-shade (*swt*) and two unidentifiable hieroglyphic signs (*nfr* and *ankh*?), plant in front of the horse.

Cat 4.20 (44) **Walters Art Gallery Baltimore 57.1593**. Gold frame of pendant (h. 45), traces of blue paste around the inside edge, white paste in the hat, two flat suspension loops and three holes, purchased by Henry Walters 1929, LB Syrian.

Canby 1974:No. 25 [P], 1979:16:16 [P]. Seidl 1972:18.

Figure mounted on horse (with plumes forming part of the suspending loop), wearing *atef* crown with sundisk, ribbon and perhaps horns (?). She is brandishing a weapon above her head and holding the reins in her hand.

Cat 4.21 (45) **EC CG 12843** (front). Rectangular plaque, front and back slightly convex, hole from side to side, made of dark stone with glaze (h. 21), 1300-1200, purchased.

Cornelius 1994:203 [B!]-204 [T], Pl. 49:BM63 [P]. Cornelius 2000:74, Fig. 6; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:76n29, 98n49.

Figure on the right with *atef* crown and arms hanging passively downwards standing on the back of a horse. Winged and horned figure standing on a lion to the left (Cornelius 1994:Baal-Seth).

Cat 4.22 (44-45) **SM 1931/73**. Hedgehog scaraboid (19 x 13) c. 1300 of unknown provenance.

Cornelius 1994:210 [B], Pl. 50:BM70 [P]. Cornelius 2000:75, Fig. 7b [D] [P].

Winged figure standing on horse with feathers and holding reins. The figure wears the Egyptian double crown (drawing in Keel *et al.* 1990:307-308, Fig. 80* creates wrong impression). To the left is an *udjat*-sign.

Cat 4.23 (44) **SM 906/73**. Scarab of unknown provenance 17 x 13 c. 1300.

Cornelius 1994:211 [B], Pl. 50:BM71 [P].

Winged figure with Egyptian double crown on the back of a horse. To the left is an *udjat*-sign.

Cat 4.24 (44) **SM 903/73**. Scarab of unknown provenance 16 x 11 c. 1300.

Cornelius 1994:211 [B], Pl. 50:BM72 [P].

Winged figure with Egyptian double crown on the back of a horse. There are unclear hieroglyphic signs.

Cat 4.25 (44) **SM 905/73**. Scarab of unknown provenance 16 x 12 c. 1300.

Cornelius 1994:211 [B], Pl. 50:BM73 [P].

Winged figure with Egyptian double crown standing on the back of a horse. Note the large plumes (not horns!) on the head of the horse.

Cat 4.26 (45) **Strasburg 1796** (Dümichen collection). Steatite scarab of unknown provenance, h. c. 15 and dated c. 1300-1000.

Spiegelberg 1909:17, Pl. XI:21a [P].

Winged figure with Egyptian double crown standing on the back of a horse. To the left is an *udjat*-sign.

5. *Naked woman holding objects* (“*Qedeshet”)*: Cat 5.1-5.62

Cat 5.1 (48) **BM EA 191** upper register (Cf. **Cat 1.1** for technical description and lower register).

Bibliography cf. **Cat 1.1**.

Naked woman standing on a lion, facing the front. Her arms are in a V-position and in her right hand she is holding two short-stemmed lotus flowers with two buds (with loop of the stems visible) and in her left hand two serpents. The lion is striding towards the right, with his front part badly damaged. The woman is “…in high relief of fine quality” (James 1970:47) but the head is damaged as well as the feet. She has small breasts (one damaged) and wears the Hathor hairdo (of which only one lock is preserved), but no headdress has survived. For the gods Min and Reshep flanking her see description in Cornelius (1994:63).

Cat 5.2 (48) **BM EA 355** earlier 650. Limestone rs (270 x 180), 1300-1200, presumably from DeM (cf. Cornelius and James for detail). Figures very much faded.

Cornelius 1994:64 [B!], Pl. 23:RR31 [P]. Keel 1992a:243, Fig. 210 [D].

Figure on lion with feet pointing sideways as on **Cat 5.1**, holding in her right hand a short-stemmed lotus flower and in the other what look like three serpents. The headdress looks like the Hathor-type and she is flanked by two gods identifiable as Min and Reshep (cf. Cornelius). There are worshippers on the lower register.

Cat 5.3 (48) **T 50066** (old cat. 1601). DeM, collection Drovetti, rs of white limestone, deeply incised, well preserved but damaged on the left side, colour remaining on the figure in the centre with black wig, black serpent, and the lion with red mane, 450 x 300 with rounded top, outlined in two registers, break on left side, Ramses II (1304-12137).

Cornelius 1994:59 [B!]-60 [T], Pl. 20:RR28 [P]. Cornelius 1999:242, 250, Fig. 1 [D]; Donadoni-Roveri 1988:166-167, Fig. 231 [P colour]; Frevel 2001:224-225, Fig. 4 [D]; Helck 1966:14; Jeremias & Hartenstein 1999:93, Fig. 6 [D]; Keel 1992:148-149, Fig. 88a [D], Keel 1992a:208, Fig. 211 [D]; Kitchen 1980:III:621, 2000:424 [T]; le Lasseur 1919:frontispiece [P]; Lipiński 1996:255; Marinatos 2000:16-17, Fig. 1.27 [D]; Pritchard 1987:103 [P colour]; Sadek 1987:159n 4, 161 [T].

Figure on lion as on **Cat 5.1**, her feet are pointing sideways and she is holding in her right hand three short-stemmed lotus flowers (with loop of the stems visible) and in her left hand a serpent. The figure is well-preserved with small breasts and wears the Hathor hairdo, the headdress consists of the abacus with disk and crescent moon. Below her navel are folds and there is an armlet on her upper left arm (but not on the right as in Keel). The arms are not in the V-position as on the previous items. The lion is well preserved and strides to the right, decorated with spots (?). For the other two figures see description in Cornelius.

Cat 5.4 (48, 50) **L C86** (N. 237). rs 315 (h.), purchased, presumably from DeM, 1300-1200 (technical detail in Cornelius).

Cornelius 1994:61 [B!]-62 [T], Pl. 21:RR29 [P]. Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Berlejung 2001:57 [P colour]; Brody 1998:27, 29, Fig. 6 [D]; Galling 1977:112-113; Kitchen 1980:III:791 [T]; Parrot 1961:Fig. 40 [D].

Figure similar to previous item, but the arms are in the familiar V-position and there is no abacus. She is flanked by the gods Min and Reshep.

Cat 5.5 (48-49) **Kunsthistorisches Museum Ägyptische Sammlung Wien 1012**. Limestone rs (83,5 x 64,5 x 15), c. 1300-1200, purchased, DeM?

Cornelius 1994:71 [B!], Pl. A [P] (but photograph is wrong way around!). Edwards 1955:50; Maier 1986:87; Pritchard 1943:34, 1969a:250; Vincent 1928:530, Pl. XXXV:5 [D].

Figure on lion as on previous item, but with empty hands. She is flanked by Min and a god only indicated by the inscription as “Reshep”.

Cat 5.6 (48-49) **BM EA 817**. Limestone rs (440 x 340), 1300-1200, from DeM? Badly damaged, only upper left part remaining.

Boreux 1939:675 [B]; Leibovitch 1961:24-25, Pl. I:2 [P]. Helck 1971b:465; Keel 1992a:207-208; Lipiński 1996:255; Schulman 1982, 84, n8; Stadelmann 1967:119n1.

Egyptian god Min with to his right naked woman facing the front, right arm holding short-stemmed lotus flower with buds, upper part of her body and the left arm lost.

Cat 5.7 (48) **M I.1.a.5613** (3177). Provenance unknown but perhaps DeM (Hodjash & Berlev 1982:134: “undoubtedly”) limestone rs brownish covering all over, 210 x 150, c. 1300-1200.

Hodjash & Berlev 1982:133 [P](No. 75c), 134 [B!]-135 [T]. Cornelius 1994:58 [B!], Fig. 4 [D]; Keel 1992a:207, 244, Fig. 213 [D]; Lipiński 1996:255.

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo surmounted by headdress consisting of naos with volutes (partly broken) standing on a lion, feet pointing to the right. She is holding three long-stemmed flowers with a loop and two serpents in her right and left hands and is flanked by two male deities (Cornelius and Lipiński). Worshippers with an offering table occur on the register below.

Cat 5.8 (48) **Ny Carlsberg Glyptotheque Copenhagen AEIN 313** (acquired in Egypt in the 1890’s). rs limestone (200 x 140) in two registers, figures faded on the right side and below, c. 1300-1200 DeM?

Cornelius 1994:156 [B!]-157, Pl. 42:BR16 [P]; Jørgensen 1998:290-291, No. 120 [P]. Keel 1992a:207; Lipiński 1996:255, 259.

Naked female figure on lion with feet pointing to the right, with headdress as on previous item holding serpent and flower, flanked by two gods (Cornelius and Lipiński), worshippers below.

Cat 5.9 (48) **EC JE 26048**. rs limestone 13th cent. provenance unknown (DeM?), two registers but lower register empty.

Leibovitch 1938:210, Fig. 138 (right) [P]; Cornelius 1994:155 [B!]-156, Pl. 41:BR15 [P] (photograph wrong way around!). Galling 1977:112a; Keel 1992a:207; Lipiński 1996:255.

Naked woman with plain Hathor headdress standing on lion; her feet pointing to the right, holding serpent and two short-stemmed lotus flowers. She is flanked by two other figures (cf. Cornelius and Lipiński).

Cat 5.10 (48) **EC JE 45535**. rs limestone (175 x 130) from Memphis (Excavations 1915-1923 UM Pennsylvania M-1998), lower left and right edges lost, figures in high relief, 1300-1200.

Schulman 1982; Cornelius 1994:154 [B!]-155, Pl. 41:BR14 [P]. Lipiński 1996:255, 259.

Naked female figure with Hathor headdress with naos with volutes standing on line (no lion!): her feet pointing to the right. She is flanked by two smaller male figures (cf. Cornelius, Lipiński, Schulman 1982). She is holding out her hands to the other figures but the hands are empty, nor is she touching the other figures.

Cat 5.11 (48) **College de France Chypre A 2**. cs of haematite, Cypriotic c. 1300 (with Collon contra Schaeffer, Schroer 1550-1450).

Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:59 [P] [D]. Cornelius 1993:33, 45, Pl. IX:Fig. 24 [D], 1999:243n7; Keel 1992a:204-205, 245, Fig. 216 [D]; Schroer 1987a:210-211, Fig. 17 [D]; Uehlinger 1998-2001:63.

Naked (dressed in line-drawings?) woman with unidentifiable headdress (naos with volutes as on previous item?) facing the front, standing on a lion, feet pointing to the right. Her arms are in the familiar V-position and she is holding two horned animals (one by the horns and the other by the feet) and is flanked by two male figures. The males hold Egyptian *was* sceptres and are dressed in long kilts. The figure on the left has a feathered headdress while the other one wears a conical crown and holds an Egyptian *ankh* in his left hand. There are two rosettes and above are two griffons and other unclear objects/symbols (disk, plants, etc.).

Cat 5.12 (48) **National Archaeological Museum Athens 559** (Department of Egyptian and Anatolian Antiquities). Provenance unknown. Stela-shaped pendant of gilded bronze (103 x 43 x 5,4) c. 1300-1190.

Cornelius 1994:108 [B!]-109, Pl. 30:RM20 [P]. Cornelius 1999:243; Keel 1992a:207; Leibovitch 1942:84-86; Maier 1986:128n19; Stadelmann 1967:122-123.

Naked female facing the front standing on a lion, her feet pointing to the right. She wears a very clear Hathor wig with naos with volutes on top.

The woman holds a lotus flower in her right hand and a faintly visible snake in the other. The figure is flanked by two male gods (cf. Cornelius).

Cat 5.13 (48-49, 51) **IAA 76-999** (IM). Rectangular pottery mould, outlined, lower right corner lost (155 x 95 x 19), pattern in intaglio, surface find from Tel Qarnayim in the Beisan valley, LB.

Ben-Arieh 1983:72-77, Pl. 8 [P]. Barnett 1978:31*; Binger 1997:57; Clamer 1980:156; Cornelius 1993:31, 44, Pl VIII:Fig. 22 [D], 1994:103, Fig. 26 [D], 1999:245-247, 254, Fig. 13 [D]; Frevel 1995:885, 888, n682, 2001:224; Giveon 1986:8; Haas 1994:415; Kamlah 1993:124n53; Keel 1985:14n28; Keel 1984:71n206, 1992a:212-213, Fig. 37 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:75-76, Fig. 72 [D]; Pettey 1990:188; Schroer 1987:277, Fig. 100 [D]; Schulman 1984; Uehlinger 1991:883, Fig. 7b [D]; Weippert 1988:303-304, Fig. 3.52:2 [D]; Winter 1987:113n115.

Naked female with horned headdress standing on the back of a horse (facing the left) with main and bridle. The back part of the horse is lost. The woman has long hair hanging down with arms in a V-position holding two flowers (looks more like mirrors as on most line-drawings). Her feet point to the left and the horse is facing the left. Above are two birds (vultures?). She is faced by two smaller male figures (cf. Schulman and Giveon) in kilts standing on a line: the one on the right with headdress consisting of a crescent with holding mace against his chest and the other one on the left with conical crown holding a feather. One figure stands on a higher level than the other one, both have one hand hanging down.

Cat 5.14 (50-51) **M I.1.a.5614** (4087). Provenance unknown but perhaps DeM (Hodjash & Berlev 1982:131: “undoubtedly”) limestone rs brownish covering all over, crack and lower register and sides badly damaged (470 x 340) 1300-1200.

Hodjash & Berlev 1982:131 [B!] [T], 132 (No. 74) [P], 134; Leibovitch 1937:81-89, Fig. 6 [D]. Helck 1971b:464; Keel 1992a:203, 241, Fig. 209 [D]; Stadelmann 1967:117.

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo and headdress consisting of the abacus, disk and crescent moon. She is standing on a lion. The animal is beautifully represented with main, open jaws with tongue, decoration on shoulder, whisking tail and with strap-work. The woman’s slender body (with cross-bands?) faces the front, but the lower part is shown sideways, the feet are pointing to the right and she is holding three serpents and three long-stemmed lotus flowers in her right and left hands respectively. She is faced by a worshipper followed by his wife, below is a row of kneeling worshippers.

Cat 5.15 (50-52) **EC JE 26049**. Limestone rs LB? provenance unknown (DeM?).

Müller 1906:32 [T], Pl. 41 [P]. Brody 1998:29, 70, Fig. 5 [D]; Clamer 1980:155; Galling 1977:112b; Gressmann 1927:82, Pl. CXV [P](No. 271); Helck 1971b:464; Keel 1992a:203, 241, Fig. 208 [D]; Leibovitch 1938:210, Fig. 138 left [P], 1961:29; Maier 1986:127n17-18; Pritchard 1943:33, 1969:163 [P], 304 (No. 472); Stadelmann 1967:116.

Naked woman standing on a lion on a pedestal; her feet pointing to the right, her upper body faces the front, but her face and the lower parts are shown in profile. The animal is facing to the right and is not well represented. The lady wears a wig and on top of that what looks like plants or feathers (?). She holds a serpent and lotusflower bud (without a stem) in her right and left hands respectively. To her right on a lower level are a female with one hand in a gesture of greeting and an offering stand. The inscription is unclear, perhaps the typical "lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods".

Cat 5.16 (50) **Winchester 830** (1951 Capt. Maberley). Previously Winchester College but no longer (letter of J. Falconer 5/5/96; auctioned? cf. Hadley 2000:191n15), presumably from DeM, painted limestone rs (190 x 135 relief 7,5), hieroglyphs in black, Ramses III (1198-1166).

Edwards 1955:49-51 [T], Pl. IIIc [P]. Ackerman 1989:121n23; Albright 1954:26; Böhm 1990:133; Bretschneider 1991:23; Bowman 1978:244-245 [T]; Clamer 1980:159; Cornelius 1993:30, 43, Pl. VII:Fig. 20 [D], 1999:247; Cross 1973:33-34; Day 1995:71-72; Eaton 1969:109-111, 142 [P]; Frevel 1995:886n674, 2001:225, 227, Fig. 3 [D]; Galling 1977:113a; Gese 1970:152-153; Hadley 1994:248-249n64, 2000:47, 191-192; Helck 1966:9, 1971a:219; Herrmann 1969:50, 1999:93; Hestrin 1991:55; Keel 1992a:203, 240, Fig. 206 [D]; Kitchen 1985:V:668 [T]; Kletter 1996:68; Leclant 1960:5; Leibovitch 1961:28-29; Lipiński 1986:90; Maier 1986:91; Marinatos 2000:16-17, Fig. 1.28 [D]; Müller 1989:458; Negbi 1976:99; Olyan 1988:40n6; Pettey 1990:29; Pope 1971a:926; Pritchard 1969:352 (No. 830); Redford 1973:43; Sadek 1987:158n3, 161, 163 [T]; Selz 2000:36, 62, Fig. 3 [P]; Smith 1994:295; Stadelmann 1966:80, 1967:112-116; Weippert 1988:295, 303; Wiggermann 1998-2001:52; Wiggins 1991:385, 387 [T]-388, Fig. 1 [D]; Winter 1987:112, Fig. 37 [D]; Wyatt 1984:336.

Naked woman (painted yellow) facing the front standing on the back of a small lion, her feet pointing sideways. She wears black cross-bands, a black girdle, a collar, black beads on her chest, and black bracelets on the arms and wrists. The coiffure is that of Hathor, but the roughly T-shaped headdress is not clear. She holds a single long red lotus stem with blue flower in the right

hand and a single black serpent in the left hand. The yellow lion on the black base is striding to the right and has a black rosette decoration.

Cat 5.17 (51-52) **Berlin 21626**. Limestone rs (280 x 220), purchased in Cairo in 1914 (from Memphis?), damaged on the upper left side and left of one leg of the lion, marks on the central figure, 1300-1200.

Roeder 1919:22, Fig. 26 [P]. Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Boreux 1939:673; Brody 1998:29, Fig. 4 [D]; Cornelius 1999:242, 246, 251, Fig. 2 [D]; Edwards 1955:49-50; Galling 1977:112b; Gressmann 1927:83, Pl. CXVI [P](No. 276); Helck 1966:14, 1971a;463-464; Keel 1992a:203, 239, Fig. 204 [D]; Klengel 1980:117, Pl. 47 [P]; Leibovitch 1942:77, 79, Fig. 6 [P]; Maier 1986:129n28; Pritchard 1949:33, 1969:163 [P], 304 (No. 471); Scharff 1923:23-24, Pl. 23 [P]; Stadelmann 1966:83, 1967:115-116 [T]; Wiggins 1991:387 [T], 394, Fig. 2 [D]; Wyatt 1984:337.

Naked woman facing the front standing on a lion, her feet pointing to the right. She has a Hathor hairdo with elaborate headdress: abacus with naos with volutes and smaller disk in crescent moon above. Her arms are in a V-shaped position and she is holding a single serpent in both her hands. The lion is very clear with strap-work, paws and whisking tail. There are six circles/disks (three to her left, two to her right and one below the neck of the lion. (Original studied September 1996)

Cat 5.18 (51) **EC JE 55316**. Limestone rs (280 x 220), badly preserved, presumably from Ihnasia el-Medina (16 km w. of Beni-Suef: Lacau 1 Jan. 1931), 1300-1200.

Leibovitch 1937:88, 91, Fig. 7 [D]. Keel 1992a:240, Fig. 207 [D]; Leibovitch 1961:30; Stadelmann 1967:116.

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo with crescent (horns?) and disk, standing on lion; she is facing the front, feet pointing to the right. Her arms are in a V-shaped position and she is holding a serpent and a flower in her hands. The lion is quite large.

Cat 5.19 (50) **National Archaeological Museum Athens 944** (Department of Egyptian and Anatolian Antiquities). Faience pendant with suspension loop (57 x 46), unknown origin, LB.

Keel 1992a:206, 242, Fig. 209a [P]. Cornelius 1999:243; Helck 1971b:464; Stadelmann 1984:26.

Naked woman facing the front standing on a small lion, her feet pointing to the right. She has a Hathor headdress and is holding a long-stemmed lotus flower in the left and a single serpent in the other hand, necklace.

Cat 5.20 (50) **L AO 14.714**. Golden pendant (55 h.) with embossed figure from Minet el-Beida (Ugarit RS 3.185 1931 dépôt 213 bis), dated 1450-1365 (Keel 1992a:205; Schaeffer 1949:36 = 1400-1300).

Negbi 1976:100, 191 [B!], Fig. 119 [D], Pl. 53 [P] (No. 1701). Albright 1939:114; Barrelet 1955:251, Fig. 18 [D]; Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Beyer 1981:44, Fig. 52 [P]; Böhm 1990:65, 67, Fig. 13b [D]; Bretschneider 1991:151, Fig. 95 [D], Pl. 146 [P]; Brody 1998:29, 70, Fig. 3 [D]; Buchholz 2000:62 [B], Fig. 5b [D]; Budin 2002:317-318, Fig. 2 [P]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:26, Pl. XIXb [P]; Caubet 1995:2684 [P], 2002:27 [P], 2002a:222, 224; Cornelius 1989:61, Fig. 12 [D], 1993:21, 33, 37, Pl. I:Fig. 2 [D], 1999:243, 247, 251, Fig. 4 [D], 1999a:595-596, Fig. 14 [D] (not Fig. 5 as in text!); Craigie 1983:65 [P colour]; Curtis 1999:19; Day 1992:188-189, Fig. 2 [D]; Dever 1987:226-227, Fig. 16:3 [D], 1990:135, 137, Fig. 41 [D]; Dussaud 1949:50-51, Fig. 16:5 [D]; Frevel 2001:224-225, Fig. 5 [D]; Galling 1977:116, Fig. 31:11 [D]; Gese 1970:142-143, Fig. 13 [D]; Jeremias & Hartenstein 1999:94, Pl. IV:1 [D]; Joines 1968:247, 1974:66; Keel 1984:43, 98, 133, Fig. 20 [D], 1992:91-92, Fig. 45 [D], 1992a:205, 246, Fig. 218 [D], 1994a:85, Fig. 5 [D], 1998:42, Fig. 78 [D]; Klengel 1980:117 [D]; Koh 1994:129, Pl. 32:1 [D]; Lagarce 1983:Pl. IC:3 [P]; Leibovitch 1942:80, Fig. 7 [D]; Maier 1986:126n14, Fig. 1 [D]; Marinatos 2000:13-14, Fig. 1.24a [D]; May 1935:39; Mesnil du Buisson 1968:16, Fig. 10:2 [D]; Orthmann 1975:489, Pl. 426d [P]; Parrot 1961:72, 74, Pl. IV [P], Fig. 39 [D]; Patai 1990:Pl. 15 [P]; Pettey 1990:176; Pfeiffer 1962:32 [P]; Schaeffer 1971:138, 141, Fig. 2 [P]; Schroer 1987:38, Fig. 11 [D]; Seibert 1973:Pl. 36 [P colour]; Smith 2002a:21 [P]; Stadelmann 1967:112; Vermaak 1995:25, 37, Fig. 12 [D]; Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:3 [D]; Winter 1987:114, Fig. 42 [D]; Yon 1997:176-177, Fig. 58a [P].

Naked female facing the front standing on a lion (very small striding to the left with mane and shoulder decoration), her feet pointing to the right. She has a Hathor hairdress with abacus, armlets, bracelets and a necklace with petals. Her arms are in the V-form and she is holding gazelles by the feet in both hands. Behind her girdled waist are interwoven (?) serpents and the background is covered with embossed dots (stars?).

Cat 5.20a (50-51) **Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem 2120**. Pendant (with very large loop) of gold leaf (85 h.) with embossed figure, said to come from the vicinity of Ugarit, LB.

Cornelius 1999:244, 252, Fig. 6 [D].

Naked female facing the front standing on an animal (lion?), her feet pointing to the right. She has a Hathor hairdress with pointed crown with

horns, armlets, bracelets and a necklace with petals. Her arms are in a V-form and she is holding rams by the feet in both hands. Above her headdress is a rosette pattern. The scene is framed and on her sides are flowers.

Cat 5.21 (50) **Akko**. Stolen (letter of B. Brandl 19/6/96) bronze applique plaque (83 h.) cast in mould with suspension and hole, from Akko, tomb B3, c. 1300.

Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:title page [D], 29-30, Pl.VI:1-2 [P]; Negbi 1976:100, 191 (No. 1697). Ben-Arieh 1983:74; Böhm 1990:60, Pl. 22a [P]; Bretschneider 1991:151, Pl. 146:Fig. 94 [D]; Cornelius 1999:244, 253, Fig. 9 [D]; Frevel 2001:224; Keel 1984:43, 71-72, 133, Fig. 21 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:75-76, Fig. 70 [D]; Knauf 2001:42 [D]; Merhav 1994:38*, Fig. 3:1 [D]; Uehlinger 1991:884, Fig. 6c [D]; Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:1 [D]; Winter 1987:113, Fig. 40 [D].

Naked woman facing the front standing on a somewhat unclear crouching lion, both her feet pointing to her left. She wears a Hathor hairdo with crown with horns and a sundisk in between, a necklace, has bracelets on her arms, and holds a long-stemmed flower (lotus?) in each hand at shoulder height.

Cat 5.22 (51) **IAA 78-1** (IM). Golden foil (0,01 thick, 112 x 204; 92% gold, 7,4% silver, 0,29% copper) from 12th cent. (L. 3323) acropolis temple at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), found wadded in a lump, torn into five pieces, perhaps from cult niche, attached to screen, eyes originally with inlay, repousseé with chasing.

Clamer 1980:Fig. 1 [D], Pl. 36 [P]. Ackerman 1989:121n25, 1992:25n77; Ben-Arieh 1983:76; Böhm 1990:60, Fig. 10b [D]; Cornelius 1993:31, 44, Pl. VIII:Fig. 21 [D], 1999:244-245, 247, 253, Fig. 10 [D]; Frevel 1995:885, 888, n682, 2001:224; Giveon 1986:7; Görg 1980:Fig. 1 [D]; Haas 1994:415, Fig. 73 [D]; Hadley 2000:161-164, Fig. 9 [D]; Herrmann 1999:92; Keel 1984:71, 157, Fig. 63 [D], 1992:107-108, Fig. 58 [D]; Keel 1985:12; Keel *et al*. 1990:211-213, Fig. 36 [D]; Keel & Küchler 1982:916-917, Fig. 614 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:75-76, Fig. 71 [D]; Mazar, in: Stern 1992:273; Nakhai 2001:149; Pettey 1990:188; Tadmor 1982:161, 1982a:10 [D], Tadmor, in: de Montebello 1986:118-120 [P colour] (No. 50); Uehlinger 1991:882-883, Fig. 7a [D]; Ussishkin 1987:31, in: Stern 1993:901-902 [P] [D], in: Meyers 1997:3:319; Weippert 1988:303-304, Fig. 3.52:1 [D], Pl. 8 [P]; Wimmer 1990:1072; Winter 1987:113, Fig. 39a [D]; Zwickel 1994:123.

Naked woman standing on a trotting horse, facing the right; her body is in profile, feet pointing to the right. The lady has long flowing hair kept in place by a band and wears a crown consisting of horns (two horizontal and

two pairs on each side vertically) and feathers (Egyptian *ꜣnḏtỉ*). She holds two large lotus flowers in each hand, one upright and the other drooping. The horse has two large ostrich feathers and is shown with an ornate blanket/caparison.

Cat 5.23 (51) **L AO 14.716**. Golden plaque (94 h.), LB IB-II from Minet el-Beida (Ugarit) dépôt 213 bis.

Negbi 1976:99, 191 [B!], Fig. 117 [D], Pl. 54 [P] (No. 1699). Böhm 1990:60-61, Fig. 11a [D]; Brody 1998:27, 29, 70, Fig. 1 [D]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:26, Pl. XVIIIb (left) [P]; Marinatos 2000:13-14, Fig. 1.25 [D]; Orthmann 1975:488-489, Pl. 426c [P]; von Reden 1992:136, Pl. 13 [P]; Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:4 [D]; Winter 1987:114, Fig. 43 [D]; Xella 1984:104 left [P colour].

Naked female facing the front standing (with feet shown from the front) on a crescent with stars below. She has a (flat) hairdo with Hathor-like curls and holds flowers in each hand.

Cat 5.24 (51) **IAA 94-1457** (Museum Hashephela, Kfar Menachem). tp (77 x 43 x 17) with rope-like/plant border, LB II from Tel Harasim (700 m north of Kibbutz Menahem near Beth Shemesh) reg. No. 2069, locus 111b, stratum V; area E/3, map no. 120, found on plastered floor of a silo with pottery fragments.

Giv^{c}on 1991:24, Pl. 7:1 [D], 4 [P], 1992:146, Fig. 163 (left) [D]. Cornelius 1999:245, 247, 254, Fig. 12 [D]; Frevel 1995:886n673, 2001:224; Giv'on 2002:26, Fig. 2:1 [D]; Kamlah 1993:123-124 (VII:2), Fig. 8 [D]; Keel 1992a:206, 246, Fig. 221 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:76.

Naked woman with unclear face facing the front (feet pointing right) standing on a small reclining lion with whisking tail. She has a Hathor hairdo, arms in a V-shaped position and holds two long-stemmed flowers.

Cat 5.25 (51) **Harasim**. tp (c. 78 x 45) with border, LB II from Tel Harasim, LB.

Giv^{c}on 1991:25, Pl. 7:3 [D], 3 [P], 1992:146, Fig. 163 (right) [D]. Frevel 1995:886n673; Giv'on 2002:26, Fig. 3:1 [D]; Kamlah 1993:123-124 (VII:3); Keel & Uehlinger 1998:76.

As previous item, but with right hand and the head of the woman lost, and plants with shorter stems. The lion is not clearly visible.

Cat 5.26 (52, 54) **BM EA 60308**. Low relief rs limestone (270 x 180), trial piece, damaged on sides with various cracks, on the backside an image of Ramesses II (1304-1237), from DeM?

Edwards 1955:49, Pl. IV [P]. Helck 1971b:464; Keel 1992a:240, Fig. 205 [D]; Leibovitch 1961:30; Quirke & Spencer 1992, 85, Fig. 62 [P]; Schulman 1982:84, n8, 86, n25, 89, n13; Shaw & Nicholson 1995:237 [P]; Stadelmann 1967:117.

Naked woman standing on a base-line, facing the front, feet pointing sideways. She wears a Hathor hairdo with abacus, clips in her hair, upper right part of necklace, bracelets and armlets, and holds two serpents in her left hand and long-stemmed lotus flowers (one flower and two buds with loop of stem) in her right hand. (Original studied December 2000)

Cat 5.27 (52-53) **L AO 14.717**. Golden pendant (84 h.), lower edge broken, from Ugarit: Minet el-Beida (RS 191 dépôt 213 bis), 14-13th cent.

Negbi 1976:99, 191 [B!], Fig. 118 [D], Pl. 54 [P](No. 1700). Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Böhm 1990:60-61, Fig. 11b [D]; Brody 1998:27, 29, 70, Fig. 2 [D]; Caquot & Sznycer 1980:26, Pl. XVIIIb (right) [P]; Cornelius 1993:21, 33, 37, Pl. I:Fig. 3 [D], 1999:243-244, 252, Fig. 5a-5b [D]; Day 1992:189-190, Fig. 3 [D]; Dever 1987:226-227, Fig. 16:1 [D]; Dussaud 1941:57, Fig. 22 left [P], 1949:51, Fig. 16:6 [D]; Helck 1971:218, Fig. 189 [D]; Jeremias & Hartenstein 1999:94, Pl. IV:2 [D]; Keel 1984:98, 178, Fig. 105 [D], 1992a:205, 245, Fig. 217 [D]; Lagarce 1983:554, Pl. IC:2 [P]; Pope & Röllig 1965:232, 252, Pl. V:6 [P]; Schaeffer 1939:47-48, Fig. 9 (centre) [D]; Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:2 [D]; Winter 1987:114, Fig. 41 [D]; Xella 1984:105 right [P colour].

Naked woman facing the front with feet pointing to the right. She wears a necklace and heavy bracelets and anklets. The lady has a Hathor hairdo with headdress consisting of horns. She is holding two rams by their feet and there is a long-stemmed lotus flower on each side of her.

Cat 5.28 (52) **Aleppo 4575**. Golden pendant (repoussé on sheet gold with loop) from Ugarit: Minet el-Beida dépôt 11 (73 x 40), c. 1300, damaged on right side and part below feet missing.

Negbi 1976:113, 191 [B!], Fig. 128 [D] (No. 1698). Barrelet 1958:Pl. IId [P]; Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Böhm 1990:60-61, Fig. 11c [D]; Bossert 1951:No. 777 [P]; Caubet 2000:217 [P](colour); Cornelius 1999:243, 251, Fig. 3 [D]; Dussaud 1949:50, Fig. 15 [D]; Gray 1964:230, Pl. 29 [P], 1969:71 [P]; Jirku 1956:34, Pl. 9:1 [P]; Kohlmeyer & Strommenger 1982:110 [P colour], 133 (No. 118); Lagarce 1983:554, Pl. IC:1 [P]; Leibovitch 1942:78, Fig. 5 [D]; Marinatos 2000:13-14, Pl. 1.24b [D]; Patai 1999;Pl. 16 [P]; Pritchard 1943:34; Theuer 2002:51 [P]; Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:5 [D]; Weiss 1985:284, 314 [P colour] (No. 130); Xella 1984 82 [P colour].

Standing naked woman facing the front, feet pointing right. She has a Hathor hairdo, necklace and holds long-stemmed lotus flowers and papyrus plants in both hands, star-discs on the left-hand side.

Cat 5.29 (53) **Ulu Burun KW 703** (Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology). Golden pear-shaped pendant from Ulu Burun (Turkish coast at Kas near Rhodes) shipwreck, grid square M-11 (91 x 47 x 2, max. h. of relief 9), outlined, with ribbon loop for suspension rolled forward and scored vertically, figure in repoussé, dated by dendronchronology 1318 +/- 2 (letter of M. Jacobsen 1/4/96; 1316 according to Parry 1997:6).

Bass *et al*. 1989:2-4, Fig. 3 [P]. Bass 1987:718 [P colour], 1996:66 [P colour]; Cline 1994:141:No. 80; Cornelius 1999:244, 252, Fig. 7 [P]; Fawcett & Zietsman 2001:14, Fig. 24 [P]; Frevel 2001:224; Gülcur 1995:461, Fig. 24 [P colour]; Marinatos 2000:13.

Naked woman facing the front, feet in profile pointing to her right. She has long hair with a high crown, wears four bracelets on both wrists with a pair of anklets. The lady is lifting a gazelle in each hand.

Cat 5.30 (53) **L AO 4654**. Cf. for other side and detail **Cat 3.13**.

Barrelet 1958:27ff., Pl. Ib [P]. Amiet 1977:Fig. 495 [P]; Ben-Arieh 1983:74; Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:30; Cornelius 1999:244, 247, 253, Fig. 8 [D]; Galling 1977:111b; Helck 1971a:219; Maier 1986:125n11; Negbi 1976:100; Winter 1987:468, Fig. 410 right [D].

Figure of naked woman inside plant frame, with Hathor hairdress, facing the front holding long-stemmed lotus (?) flowers, feet pointing to her left, bracelets and anklets.

Cat 5.31 (53) **IAA 90-266** (Tel Aviv Institute of Archaeology). Outlined tp (h. c. 90), figure damaged on right side, from Aphek, end 13th cent. (Kamlah).

Kokhavi 1990:XXI [D], 38 left [P] (No. 15). Kamlah 1993:111n34, 123-124, Fig. 8 [D] (IV:3).

Faceless naked woman with Hathor hairdo facing the front. She is holding short-stemmed flowers and is flanked by plants.

Cat 5.32 (55) **RJ P.41** (IM). tp (82 x 45) from Gezer level IV,3 (D5), LB.

Macalister 1904:15-16, Fig. 3 [D]; 1912:II:413, Fig. 498 [D]. Gressmann 1927:84, Pl. CXVIII [D] (No. 281); Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.7; Kamlah 1993:125 (VII:2); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.33; Maier 1986:122n3; Pilz 1924:143 (No. 100), 164, Pl. I:Fig. 27 (head) [D]; Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 17); Vincent 1907:160, Fig. 102 [D]; Winter 1987:114n118.

Naked (Pritchard dressed [?]) woman facing the front with Hathor hairdo with *atef* crown and large ram's horns (uraeus as in Pritchard?), six bracelets on each of the wrists, necklace?. She holds long-stemmed plants in both hands (Pritchard papyrus stalk and lotus flower).

Cat 5.33 (55) **IAA 67-434** Skirball Museum Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion Jerusalem. Ceramic tan ware ("light yellowish brown") tp (h. c. 90) with few limestone grits, well-fired, smoothing marks on the back, Gezer excav. 1964-1966, 10YR 6/4 field II, area 4 (II.4.38) pit 4022, stratum 13 (?) No. 100, 14th cent.

Dever, Lance & Wright 1970:57, Pls. 25A [P], 37:11 [D]. Kamlah 1993:111n34, 122 (II:4); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.14.

Naked woman facing the front, feet missing, with Hathor hairdo holding long-stemmed flowers.

Cat 5.34 (55) **Timnah**. Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University Jerusalem. tp (c. 130 h.) from Tel Batash (Timnah north) 1984-1989, found in street debris stratum VII, area C, 14th cent., figure framed.

Kelm & Mazar 1991:54-55, Fig. 11 [P]; Kelm & Mazar 1995:66-67, 78, Fig. 4.35 [D], Pl. C8 [P colour]. Kamlah 1993:111n34, 123, 124, Fig. 8 [D] (III:6).

Faceless naked woman standing facing the front, feet pointing to her right. She wears a Hathor hairdo with the ears clearly exposed and holds flowers. The feet are slightly unclear but there are traces of armlets and anklets, the pubic area is accentuated by a deeply incised triangle.

Cat 5.35 (54) **UM 61-14-1655** (Previously Haverford College Pennsylvania). Light buffware tp (90 x 40), made in a mould, back smoothed off by hand, from Beth Shemesh 1928-33, stratum IV, registry 463, LB.

Grant 1929:35 [P], Grant & Wright 1939:48-49, 155. Cornelius 1999:246-247, 254, Figs. 14a-b [D]; Helck 1971:221n8; Joines 1968:247, 1974:66; Kamlah 1993:112n40, 124 (VI:1); Keel 1992a:206, 246, Fig. 220 [D]; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:532; Koh 1994:83; May 1935:31; Maier 1986:123n5; Patai 1990;Pl. 12 [P]; Pritchard 1943:10 (No. 37); Wright 1962:112, Fig. 68 [P]; Zevit 2001:Fig. 4.1:I [D].

Naked woman with broad hips facing the front. She has an unfamiliar coiffure, four bracelets around her wrists and holds a long-stemmed flower in each hand. The figure is encircled by a rope-like border (plants?). The feet are not visible. What looks like a serpent on the line-drawings (cf. Cornelius) might perhaps be flowers curling around her shoulders, dropping to her feet, functioning as a frame.

Cat 5.36 (53) **RJ I.8641**. Oblong framed tp (90 h.) from Beth Shemesh (Grant 1930), found between levels III and V, No. 1543, LB.

Grant 1931:Pl. XI:below left [P]. Kamlah 1993:124 (III:4); Pritchard 1943:8 (No. 18).

Naked woman facing the front, feet lost. She holds long-stemmed flowers in each hand and has a Hathor headdress (?).

Cat 5.37 (53, 55) **RJ P.9** (IM). Brown-red tp in high relief (rectangular 67 x 37) from Tell Zafit 1899, 14th cent. (Bliss & Macalister pre-Israelite).

Bliss & Macalister 1902:136, Pl. 67:155 [D]. Cornelius 1999:246-247, 255, Figs. 15a-b [D]; Gray 1969:70 below [P]; Kamlah 1993:124:IV:1, 110n32; Keel, Küchler & Uehlinger 1984:838, Fig. 545 [D]; Keel 1992a:206n451; Pilz 1924:138, No. 57; Pritchard 1943:6:No. 4; Tadmor 1982a:cover upper left [P colour], 7 [P]; Vincent 1907, 160, Fig. 103 [D].

Naked woman facing the front, feet pointing to her left. She has a Hathor hairdo, holds two long-stemmed flowers and below each stalk is a rosette/encircled star. The figure is framed by plants with the flowers shown above the head of the woman.

Cat 5.38 (53) **BM ANE 1980.1214.2266**. tp (h. 85), with crack but well-finished, knife-pared on the flat back and sides (16 in depth), in frame, from potter’s workshop at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), locus 4034, layer 4, pit A, field number 6990, dated 1300-1050.

Tuffnell 1958:90, 292, Pl. 49:4 [P]. Bossert 1951:85, 321 [P] (No. 187); Cornelius 1999:245, 253, Fig. 11 [D]; Franken 1963:Pl. XIII:b (right) [P]; Holland 1975:I:220, II:25:C.V.a.14; Kamlah 1993:111n35, 123, 124, Fig. 8 [D] (III:5); Keel & Uehlinger 1998:74-75, Fig. 69 [D]; Kletter 1996:271:5.V.25; Tubb 1998:75, Fig. 42 right [P]; Uehlinger 1991:884-885, Fig. 8a [D], 1998-2001:56-57, 60, Fig.3 [D]; Winter 1987:113, Fig. 38 [D].

Naked woman in frame facing the front, feet pointing to her left, with Hathor hairdo, armlets and anklets and holding long-stemmed flowers.

Cat 5.39 (53) **Istanbul 2105 P.T**. (1903) tp (103 x 58), framed, damaged above and below, light brown with stained surface, from Tell el-Hesy city III LB (Macalister 1900).

Bliss 1894:61, Fig. 105 [D]; Bliss & Macalister 1902:136, Pl. 68:2H [D]. Contenau 1914:95, Fig. 107 [D]; Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.13; Kamlah 1993:125 (VIII:10); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.29; Pilz 1924:138 (No. 58); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 5).

Naked woman facing the front, lower legs lost, with Hathor hairdo, traces of necklace (Pritchard (?)) holding long-stemmed flowers.

Cat 5.40 (54) **TBM**. Present location unknown. tp (105 h.) from Tell Beit Mirsim stratum C (1500-1230), present location unknown.

Albright 1938:69, 122-123, Pls. 26:5 [D], 27:4 [P]. Albright 1939:111, 117-118, Pl. A5 [D]; Böhm 1990:85, Fig. 15 [D]; Kamlah 1993:122 (II:6); Merhav 1994:38*, Fig. 3:2 [D]; Opificius 1961:192:No. 706; Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 15), Fig. 2 [D]; Schroer 1987a:208-209, Fig. 12 [D]; Winter 1987:113, Fig. 39 [D].

Naked woman facing the front, feet lost, with feathered headdress and hair in slender loose-hanging locks with pony-tails (?), holding long-stemmed flowers in each hand.

Cat 5.41 (55) **H 762 Hecht Museum Haifa**. tp (124 x 66), purchased in Jerusalem from Hebron district, flat shaped, LBII.

Tadmor 1981:81, Pl. יב:219 [P], 1982:161-163, Pls. 10, 10a [P], 1982a:6 [P]. Kamlah 1993:123-124, Fig. 8 [D] (II:10).

Standing naked woman facing the front, feet in profile, separated and pointing outwards. Hathor hairdo and anklets, holding long-stemmed flowers and standing on the stem.

Cat 5.42 (53) **Collection R. Braun Jerusalem**. tp (h. 110), LB, provenance unknown.

Tadmor 1982a:cover top right [P colour], 7 (left) [P]. Kamlah 1993:123-124, Fig. 8 [D] (II:9).

Standing naked woman facing the front, feet missing, Hathor hairdo, holding long-stemmed flowers. It is uncertain if she is on a lion head below, it is rather a pedestal.

Cat 5.43 (54) **Reifenberg 1**. Present location unknown. Round tp, origin and present location unknown, LB?

Reifenberg 1950:42:1 [P]. Bossert 1951:84, 321 [P] (No. 1088); Kamlah 1993:124 (II:11).

Standing naked woman facing the front, feet unclear, Hathor hairdo, holding long-stemmed flowers.

Cat 5.44 (54) **Megiddo**. Present location unknown. tp (h. c. 100; Watzinger limestone?) from 3rd level of the “Middelburg” group 1. Figure in relief, two fragments, damaged on the right-hand side, LB, present location unknown.

Watzinger 1929:22, Pl. XVIIa [D]. Holland 1975:I:220, II:26:C.V.a.15; Kamlah 1993:122 (II:2); Pilz 1927:138 (No. 55); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 2).

Naked woman (defaced) presumably with Hathor hairdo, holding flower in her right hand (lotus?), other arm lost. Legs partly preserved shown in profile pointing to the figure's left.

Cat 5.45 (52) **Berlin VA 15134a**. Thick (34) tp with frame (70 x 67; not a mould as in Schumacher, letter from E Klengel-Brandt) from Megiddo (Schumacher), 3rd level of the "Nordburg" room k, 2nd mill. (Albright 15-14th cent.).

Schumacher 1906:4, 6, Fig. 6 [D], 1908:65-66, Fig. 86 [P]. Albright 1939:114; Holland 1975:II:26:C.V.a.16; Kamlah 1993:122 (II:1 and 2); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.27; May 1935:31; Pilz 1924:137 (No. 54); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 1); Vincent 1907:158, Pl. III:9 [P]; Watzinger 1929:22.

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo and necklace facing the front, upper body damaged, lower part of her body lost, holding lotus plants. (Original studied April 2003)

Cat 5.46 (53) **RJ P.14**. tp from Gezer (47 x 38), found in waste-earth, LB.

Macalister 1912:II:415, III:Pl. CCXXI:Fig. 10 [D]. Böhm 1990:60, Pl. 22c [P]; Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.6; Kamlah 1993:125 (VII:1); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.2.10; Pilz 1924:139, n1 (No. 64); Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 11).

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo facing the front holding flowers, scroll pattern above her head (Pritchard perhaps serpent (?)), lower legs lost.

Cat 5.47 (54) **Gezer**. Present location unknown. tp from Gezer (h. c. 95), LB (Macalister "Fourth Semitic"), found in waste-earth, present location unknown.

Macalister 1912:II:413, 415, III:Pl. CCXX:Fig. 12 [D]. Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.5; Kamlah 1993:122 (II:3); Kletter 1996:273:5.V.4.15; Pilz 1924:138 (No. 63); Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 10).

Naked woman with heavy (Hathor?) hairdo facing the front holding flowers, lower legs lost, bracelets on right arm.

Cat 5.48 (53) **Gezer 2**. Present location unknown. tp (h. c. 65) from Gezer layer VI 19 southern portion, Pilz post-exilic, rather LB, present location unknown.

Macalister 1912:II:415, III:Pl. CCXXI:Fig. 3 [D]. Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.3; Kamlah 1993:124 (III:1); Kletter 1996:93 (Fig. 11:3 [D]), 271:5.V.2.9; Pilz 1924:138 (No. 61); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 8).

Framed naked woman facing the front, with Hathor hairdo holding lotus flowers, lower part of body lost.

Cat 5.49 (52) **Istanbul 5510 P.T**. (1904). Upper part of camel coloured tp (55x16) from Gezer (1903), Macalister level IV "Third Semitic", LB.

Macalister 1912:II:413, III:Pl. CCXX:Fig. 20 [D]. Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.11; Kamlah 1993:124 (III:3); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.13; Pilz 1924:138 (No. 59); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 6).

Framed naked woman with Hathor hairdo, bracelets and beads necklace, facing the front holding flowers, lower part lost.

Cat 5.50 (53) **Gezer 3**. tp (h. c. 50) Gezer, Macalister "Fourth Semitic", LB, present location unknown.

Macalister 1912:II:413, III:Pl. CCXX:Fig. 22 [D]. Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.2; Kamlah 1993:125 (VIII:11); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.11; Pilz 1924:138 (No. 60); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 7).

Framed naked woman with Hathor hairdo facing the front holding flowers, lower part lost, head damaged above, four bracelets on her left arm.

Cat 5.51 (52) **Gezer 4**. tp (h. c. 45) Gezer (1969-1971) Dever: plaque No. 907 VI.NE25.100, locus 25047, stratum 6A, surface 7.5YR ceramic mould made, surface "greyish pink" 7/3 thick grey core, back hard-smoothed, LB/IA?, present location unknown.

Dever 1986:86, Pl. 58:8 [D]. Kamlah 1993:111n35, 125 (VI:6); Kletter 1996:271:5.V.22.

Framed figure of naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo, holding flowers, bird above the left plant? Lower part of body lost.

Cat 5.52 (52) **UM 61-14-1316**. tp (h. c. 80) with dark red gray core from Haverford Expedition 1933 (room 468 II: 33-4-553) Beth Shemesh stratum III (1200-1000), previously Haverford College.

Grant 1934:48, Pl. XIX [P]; Grant & Wright 1938:Pl. LI:17 [P], 1939:155. Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.1; Kamlah 1993:122 (II:5); Kletter 1996:270:5.V.2.1; Patai 1990:Pl. 13 [P]; Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 14).

Naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo holding plants, lower legs lost.

Cat 5.53 (52) **UM 61-14-1282** (a)-(b). tp (w. 45 and 41) of light buffware cracked over middle with frame, from Haverford Expedition 1933 (room 483 III: 33-5-41) Beth Shemesh stratum IV (1500-1200); earlier Haverford College.

Grant 1934:36, Pl. XIX [P]; Grant & Wright 1938:Pl. LI:15-16 [P]. Kamlah 1993:124 (IV:2); Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 13).

Naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo and holding plants.

Cat 5.54 (52) **Azekah**. Present location unknown. tp (c. 50 x 50) Tell Zakhariya (Azekah) PEF, LB (Bliss & Macalister early pre-Israelite), present location unknown.

Bliss & Macalister 1902:136, Pl. 67:11Z [D]. Kamlah 1993:122 (I:5); Pilz 1924:138 (No. 56); Pritchard 1943:6 (No. 3).

Naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo holding plants, lower part of her body lost, Pritchard has “papyrus stalks”.

Cat 5.55 (54) **BM ANE 1980.1214**.**11951**. tp (c. 45) Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) “Fosse Temple” locus 100 Ho. pottery cast, LB.

Tufnell 1940:Pl. XXVIII:6 [P]. Kamlah 1993:122 (No. I:6).

Naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo holding plants but only small part of her upper torso is visible.

Cat 5.55a (53, 55) **UCL Institute of Archeology 46.10/72**. tp from Jericho (c. 100 high), single moulded, very hard pinkish buff ware (Holland), LB, figure framed.

Holland 1975:II:25 (C.V.a.13), 107, Pl. 10:5 [P].

Naked woman with necklace facing the front and holding flowers.

Cat 5.55b (54) **Harasim 2**. tp from Tel Harasim found near “oven” in locus 825, area D (No. 6271), width 50, LB.

Giv^{c}on 1999, 2002:30, Fig. 4:2 [D].

Upper body of naked woman with Hathor hairdress holding plants.

Cat 5.56 (54) **RJ I.8998**. tp (90 x 59), from Tell Beit Mirsim 1930 level C No. 1409, c. 1500-1230.

Albright 1938:69, 122-123, Pls. 26:1 [D], 27:1 [P]. Albright 1939:111, Pl. A:1 [D]; Böhm 1990:85, Fig. 15 [D]; Galling 1977:117, Fig. 31:12 [D]; Kamlah 1993:122-123, Fig. 8 [D] (I:1); Opificius 1961:191:No. 701; Pritchard 1943:7, Fig. 1 [D] (No. 12), 1969:162 [P], 304 (No. 469:1); Weippert 1988:302-303, Fig. 3.51:6 [D].

Naked woman facing the front, long Hathor hairdo holding plants (Pritchard heavy papyrus stalks), navel clearly visible, wig very heavy and extending onto her breasts, part of body with lower legs lost.

Cat 5.57 (54) **RJ I.8997**. tp oval (h 70), hard, dark grey ware, from Tell Beit Mirsim 1930 level C No. 1408 (“sub A”), c. 1500-1230.

Albright 1938:69, 122-123, Pls. 26:3 [D], 27:2 [P]. Albright 1939:111, 117-118, Pl. A:3 [D]; Böhm 1990:85, Fig. 15 [D]; Kamlah 1993:122-123, Fig. 8 [D] (I:1); Opificius 1961:192:No. 707; Pritchard 1943:7 (No. 16).

Naked woman facing the front, feathered headdress, holding flowers, lower part lost.

Cat 5.58 (53) **RJ P.7**. tp of unknown provenance (82 x 55), grey ware, buff surface, LB.

Gray 1964:230, Pl. 30 (upper left) [P], 1969:70-71 [P]; Kamlah 1993:124 (III:7); Mazar 1992:273, Fig. 7.23 [P]; Reifenberg 1950:42:2 [P].

Framed naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo clear, holding flowers, necklace and four bracelets on each arm, female parts accentuated. Lower legs lost.

Cat 5.59 (53) **Istanbul 5511 P.T**. (1904). Mould (according to Macalister and museum records) for tp (78 x 19) from Gezer (Macalister 1903 "water-passage"), damaged below upper legs and on the left, camel colored, LB.

Macalister 1912:I:262, 264, III:Pl. XIX:16 [D]. Gressmann 1927:85, Pl. CXXI [D] (No. 291); Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.4; Kamlah 1993:124 (III:2); Kletter 1996:270:5.V.2.2; Pilz 1924:138, Pl. I, Fig. 13 [D] (No. 62); Pritchard 1943:6-7 (No. 9), 1969:162 [P], 304 (No. 469:2); Römer 2001:35 [P colour].

Naked woman within frame facing the front, necklace and Hathor hairdo holding long-stemmed plants, lower part of legs lost.

Cat 5.60 (53) **RJ P.22**. tp (60 x 32) from LB origin unknown (not the same as **Cat 5.46** contra Pilz 1924:139n1, the legs are longer, cf. Kletter).

Vincent 1907:158, Pl. III:10 [P]. Böhm 1990:60, Pl. 22c [P]; Holland 1975:II:25:C.V.a.17; Kletter 1996:271:5.V.2.23.

Naked woman facing the front, Hathor hairdo holding plants, legs missing, scroll pattern above.

Cat 5.61 (52) **RJ P.29**. tp (83 x 46), rectangular rounded top, flat relief, LB, origin unknown.

Unpublished.

Naked woman face unclear facing the front, Hathor hairdo holding plants, necklace and four bracelets on each wrist, body below knees lost.

Cat 5.61a (52) **Israel Museum 68.32.156 (6)**. Damaged tp from Masmiye (el-Kebire), LB.

Leibovitch 1961:30-31, Fig. 2 [P]. Kamlah 1993:124 (II:8); Winter 1987:113n113.

Naked woman holding plants.

Cat 5.62 (52, 55) **Ugarit 2**. Present location unknown. Fragment of “wall bracket” (“Wandapplikation”) from Ugarit 1934 Tr. 73 (size c. 120), 1365-1200.

Schaeffer 1949:212-213, Fig. 88:16 [D]. Schlipphak 2001:41, 71, Pl. 10:20.7 [D].

Naked woman with Hathor hairdo holding long-stemmed flowers, three vertical curly lines.

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TABLES

Table 1: Egyptian "Qedeshet" stelae[1]

Schulman[2] #	Stadelmann[3]	Helck[4]	Keel (Figs.)	Leibovitch (#)[5]	Cornelius
7	B1	A1			5.1
6	B2	A7	210	6	5.2
9	B6	A4	211	11	5.3
1	B5	A3		7	5.4
3	B8	A6		8	5.5
8	B4	A9		1	5.6
10			213	[6]	5.7
2	B7	A5			5.8
4	B3	A2		10	5.9
12					5.10
17	A6	B6	209	14	5.14
[7]	A5	B4	208	13	5.15
15	A3	B2	206	12	5.16
14	A1	B1	204	16	5.17
13	A4	B5		15	5.18
16	A2	B3	205	17	5.26

[1] Take note that this list excludes the two Athens pendants (**Cat 5.12 and 5.19**), as well as the later Roanne (Leibovitch 1942) and Karnak (**Fig. 37**) items. If these are included, we have 20 items.
[2] Cf. earlier Schulman (1982:84n8).
[3] Alone = A, triad = B.
[4] Alone = B, triad = A.
[5] An earlier list was published in 1942 (77-78).
[6] **Cat 5.1** is described by Leibovitch (1961:23).
[7] **Cat 5.15** is described by Schulman (1984:74).

TABLES

Table 2: "Woman with plants" terracottas from Israel/Palestine

Pilz 1924:137-139 (#)	Pritchard 1943:6-10 (#)	Holland 1975:II:25-26	Kamlah 1993:122-125	Kletter 1996:270-273	Cornelius
			VI:2		**5.24**
			VI:3		**5.25**
			IV:3		**5.31**
100	17	C.V.a.7	VII:2	5.V.2:33	**5.32**
			II:4	5.V.2:14	**5.33**
			III:6		**5.34**
	37		VI:1		**5.35**
	18		III:4		**5.36**
57	4		IV:1		**5.37**
		C.V.a.14	III:5	5.V.2:25	**5.38**
58	5	C.V.a.12	VIII:10	5.V.2:29	**5.39**
	15		II:6		**5.40**
			II:10		**5.41**
			II:9		**5.42**
			II:11		**5.43**
55	2	C.V.a.15	II:2		**5.44**
54	1	C.V.a.16	II:1	5.V.2:27	**5.45**
64	11	C.V.a.6	VII:1	5.V.2:10	**5.46**
63	10	C.V.a.5	II:3	5.V.2:15	**5.47**
61	8	C.V.a.3	III:1	5.V.2:9	**5.48**
59	6	C.V.a.11	III:3	5.V.2:13	**5.49**
60	7	C.V.a.2	VIII:11	5.V.2:8	**5.50**
			VI:6	5.V.2:22	**5.51**
	14	C.V.a.1	II:5	5.V.2:1	**5.52**

	13, 144		IV:2		**5.53**
56	3		I:5		**5.54**
			I:6		**5.55**
		C.V.a.13			**5.55a**
					5.55a
	12		I:1		**5.56**
	16		II:7		**5.57**
			III:7		**5.58**
62	9	C.V.a.4	III:2	5.V.2:2	**5.59**
		C.V.a.17		5.V.2:23	**5.60**
					5.61
			II:8		**5.61a**

TABLES

Table 3a: Attributes of Cat 5.1-30

Cat	name	triad		horse	lion	serpent		flower		horned animal	feet		Eg	SP	medium			
		Reshep	Min			L	R	R	L		R	L/ R			rs	cs	p	tp
5.1	x	x	x		x		2					?	x		x			
5.2		x	x		x	?	?	?	?			x	x		x			
5.3	x	x	x		x		1		3			x	x		x			
5.4	x	x	x		x		1		3			x	x		x			
5.5	x	name	x		x							?	x		x			
5.6		?	x						1			?	x		x			
5.7	x	?	?		x		2		3		x		x		x			
5.8		?	?		x		1	1			x		x		x			
5.9		?	?		x	1		2			x		x		x			
5.10		?	?		x						x		x		x			
5.11		?	?		x					2	x			x		x		
5.12		x	?		x		1		1		x		x				x	
5.13		?	?	x				1	1			x		x				x
5.14					x	3		3			x		x		x			
5.15					x	1		1			x		x		x			
5.16	x				x		1		1			x	x		x			
5.17	x				x	1	1	1	1		x		x		x			
5.18					x	1		1			x		x		x			
5.19					x	1	1	1			x		x				x	
5.20					x	1	1			2	x			x			x	
5.20a					x			1	1	2	x			x			x	

5.21					?			1	1		x			x			x	
5.22				x				2	2		x			x			x	
5.23				moon				1	1		f	rt		x			x	
5.24	1				x			1	1		x			x				x
5.25					x			1	?		x			x				x
5.26							2		2			x	x		x			
5.27										2	x			x			x	
5.28								2	2		x			x			x	
5.29										2	l	ft		x			x	
5.30								1	1		x			?			x	

Table 3b: Attributes of Cat 5.31-62

Cat	hairdo		flower	
	Hathor	other	lily/lotus	papyrus
5.31	x		x	
532	x		x	
5.33	x			x
5.34	x			x
5.35	x			x
5.36	x			?
5.37	x		x	
5.38	x		x	
5.39	x			x
5.40		x		x
5.41	x		x	
5.42	x			x
5.43	x		x	
5.44	x			x
5.45	x		x	
5.46	x		x	
5.47	x			?
5.48	x			?
5.49	x			x
5.50	x			?
5.51	x			?
5.52	x		x	
5.53	x			x
5.54	x			?
5.55	x		x	
5.55a	x		x	
5.55b	x			x
5.56	x		x	
5.57		x		x
5.58	x			x
5.59	x			x
5.60	x		x	
5.61	x			x
5.61a	x		x	
5.62	x		x	

Table 4: Media types

Medium	No.
bronze	1.4
bronze	1.5
bronze	1.6
bronze	2.4
bronze	2.5
bronze	3.9
bulla	2.3
cylinder-seal	1.3
cylinder-seal	1.10
cylinder-seal	2.2
cylinder-seal	4.8
cylinder-seal	4.9
cylinder-seal	4.10
cylinder-seal	5.11
foil	5.22
ivory	2.7
ivory	3.11
ostracon	4.5
ostracon	4.6
ostracon	4.7
pendant	2.6a-b
pendant	3.10
pendant	4.20
pendant	5.12
pendant	5.19
pendant	5.20
pendant	5.20
pendant	5.21
pendant	5.23
pendant	5.27
pendant	5.28
pendant	5.29
plaque	3.13
plaque	5.30
plaquette	4.14
plaquette	4.21
relief	1.1a
relief	3.8
relief-column	1.7
scarab	4.11
scarab	4.12
scarab	4.13
scarab	4.13a
scarab	4.15
scarab	4.16
scarab	4.17
scarab	4.1
scarab	4.19
scarab	4.22
scarab	4.23
scarab	4.24
scarab	4.25
scarab	4.26
scaraboid	3.12
statue	2.1
statue	3.7
stela	1.1
stela	1.2
stela	1.8
stela	1.9
stela	3.1
stela	3.2
stela	3.3
stela	3.4
stela	3.5
stela	3.6
stela	3.8a
stela	4.1
stela	4.2
stela	4.3
stela	4.4
stela	4.4a
stela	5.1
stela	5.2
stela	5.3
stela	5.4
stela	5.5
stela	5.6
stela	5.7
stela	5.8
stela	5.9

TABLES

TABLES

Table 5: Sites

Abu Simbel	3.5
Akko	3.12
Akko	5.21
Aphek	5.31
Azekah	5.54
Balu^{c}a	3.3
Beisan	3.1
Beisan	3.2
Beisan	3.10
Beitin	1.10
Beth Shemesh	5.35
Beth Shemesh	5.36
Beth Shemesh	5.52
Beth Shemesh	5.53
Buhen	4.4a
Fekheryeh	2.3
Gezer	5.32
Gezer	5.33
Gezer	5.46
Gezer	5.47
Gezer	5.48
Gezer	5.49
Gezer	5.50
Gezer	5.51
Gezer	5.59
Heliopolis	1.7
Ihnasia el-Medina	5.18
Jericho	5.55a
Kamid el-Loz	1.4
Kanais	4.2
Lachish	5.22
Lachish	5.38
Lachish	5.55
Masmiyeh	5.61a
Megiddo	5.44
Megiddo	5.45
Memphis	1.8
Memphis	5.10
Saqqarah	1.1a
Tanis	2.1
Tanis	3.7
Tel Batash	5.34
Tel Harasim	5.24
Tel Harasim	5.25
Tel Harasm	5.55b
Tel Qarnayim	5.13
Tell Beit Mirsim	5.40
Tell Beit Mirsim	5.56
Tell Beit Mirsim	5.57
Tell el-Hesy	5.39
Tell Zafit	5.37
Thebes: Ramesseum	4.3
Thebes: DeM	1.1
Thebes: DeM	4.4
Thebes: DeM	4.7
Thebes: DeM	5.1
Thebes: DeM	5.2
Thebes: DeM	5.3
Thebes: DeM	5.4
Thebes: DeM	5.7
Thebes: DeM	5.14
Thebes: DeM	5.16
Thebes: DeM	5.26
Tura	3.4
Ugarit	1.3
Ugarit	1.9
Ugarit	2.2
Ugarit	2.4
Ugarit	2.5
Ugarit	2.6a-b
Ugarit	2.7
Ugarit	3.11
Ugarit	3.9
Ugarit	5.23
Ugarit	5.62
Ugarit: Minet el-Beida	5.20
Ugarit: Minet el-Beida	5.27
Ugarit: Minet el-Beida	5.28
Ulu Burun	5.29
Zawyet Sultan	4.1

TABLES

Table 6: Museums

Aleppo Museum 4529	2.5
Aleppo Museum 4575	5.28
Aleppo Museum A 4625	1.9
Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1013.750	4.10
Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1892.1388	4.9
Ashmolean Museum Oxford E.3897	4.3
Athens National Archaeological Museum 559	5.12
Athens National Archaeological Museum 944	5.19
Beirut National Museum 16589	1.5
Beirut National Museum 16596/KL 70.847	1.4
Berlin[8] Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 21626	5.17
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 21826	4.5
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 1931/73	4.22
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 837/73	4.18
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 838/73	4.17
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 839/73	4.16
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 840.73	4.15
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 841/73	4.12
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 903/73	4.24
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 905/73	4.25
Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SM 906/73	4.23
Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum 15134A	5.45
Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem 2120	5.20a
Bibliotheque National Seyrig 29	4.8
Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology KW 703	5.29
R Braun Collection Jerusalem	5.42
British Museum London EA 191	1.1/5.1
British Museum London EA 355	5.2
British Museum London EA 60308	5.26
British Museum London EA 817	5.6
British Museum London ANE 1980-1214.2266	5.38
British Museum London ANE 1980-1214.11951	5.55
Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts New York 54.67	3.8
Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 12843	4.21
Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 26048	5.9
Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 26049	5.15
Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 45535	5.10
Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 55316	5.18
Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 6336	2.1
Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 4290.1943	4.7

[8] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

TABLES

TABLES

SOURCES & CREDITS

Plates and figures

Note: The numbers of the *plates* are the same as the numbering in the catalogue.

The pages on which the plates are discussed in Chapter 2 are given in the Catalogue (page numbers stand in brackets after the item number).

Add to these: **Plates A**: 29; **B**: 52; **C**: 79.
Figures A: 10; **B**: 11; **1-4**: 22; **5**: 23; **6-7**: 26; **8-13**: 29; **14-15**: 30; **16-18**: 31-32; **19-20**: 35; **21-23**: 36; **23a**: 37; **24**: 38; **24a-25**: 39, 55, 67; **26**: 40; **27a-29**: 41; **30-33**: 43; **34**: 44; **35a-b**: 45; **35c**: 46; **36**: 48; **37**: 50; **38-39**: 52; **40**: 55; **41-45**: 56; **46-48b**: 57; **49a-b**: 62; **50-50a**: 64; **51-52**: 65; **53**: 79; **54**: 93.

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Plates

Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: **4.3, 4.9-10**; Athens, National Archaeological Museum: **5.12, 5.19**; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung: **4.5, 4.12, 4.15-18, 4.22-25, 5.17, 5.45;** Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Vorderasiatisches Museum: **5.45**; Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: **5.20a**; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: **4.8**; Bliss & Macalister 1902:Pl. 67:11Z: **5.54**; R Braun, Jerusalem: **5.42**; Bristol Museums and Art Gallery: **A**; Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London: **1.1/5.1, 5.2, 5.6, 5.26, 5.38, 5.55**; Courtesy The Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts, New York: **3.8**; Cairo, Egyptian Museum: **4.21, 5.9, 5.10**; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: **4.7**; Paris, Collège de France: **5.11**; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: **5.8**; Damascus, National Museum: **3.9**, **3.11**; Dever *et al.* 1970:Pl. 37:11: **5.33**; Dever 1986:Pl. 58:8: **5.51**; London, Egypt Exploration Society: **4.4a**; Giv^{c}on 1991:Pl. 3: **5.25** and 2002:Fig. 4:2: **5.55b**; Gressmann 1927:Pl. CXV:271: **5.15**; Hazorea, Wilfried Israel Museum: **3.12**; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology: **5.34**; Hecht Museum, Haifa: **3.8a**, **5.41**; Courtesy of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M Univer-

sity: **5.29**; Collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem: **5.61a**; Israel Antiquities Authority: **1.10, 3.1, 3.10, 5.13, 5.22, 5.24, 5.31-33, 5.36-37, 5.46, 5.56-58, 5.60-61**, **5.21** (from Ben-Arieh & Edelstein 1977:Pl. VI), **B**; Istanbul Archaeological Museum: **5.39, 5.49, 5.59**, **C**; Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum: **3.3**; Leclant 1960:Fig. 34: **4.14** (drawing); Leibovitch 1937:Fig. 7: **5.18**; Paris, Musée du Louvre © Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville/Musée de Louvre: **1.3, 1.6, 2.2, 2.4, 2.7, 3.6-7, 3.13/5.30, 5.4, 5.20, 5.23, 5.27**; Macalister 1912:III:Pls. CCXX:Figs. 12, 22, CCXXI:Fig. 3: **5.47, 5.50, 5.48**; Montet, P 1933. *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932).* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Pl. LIV: **2.1**; Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts: **5.7**, **5.14**; Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: **2.3**, **4.11**; J Osing (Berlin): **4.1**; Parrot 1975:Fig. 69: **1.5**; Photograph by A. Schweitzer, Collection de l'Institut d'Egyptologie de l'Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg: **4.26**; Photograph by Florian Lippke of replica, Biblisch-archäologisches Institut, Tübingen: **1.4**; Private Collection, Fribourg: **4.13a**, **4.19**; Photograph by D. Raue: **1.7**; Reifenberg 1950:42:1: **5.43** (drawing); Schaeffer, *Syria* 17 (1936):Pl. XV:3: **2.5**; Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929):Pl. LIV:2: **5.28**; Schaeffer 1949:Fig. 88:16: **5.62**; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:59: **5.11**; van Siclen 1991: **1.1a**;: Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet: **4.6**; Turin, Museo Egizio by permission of Ministero dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Italia: **4.4**, **5.3**; University College London, Institute of Archaeology: **5.55a**; University College London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology: **1.2**, **1.8**, **4.13**; University of Pennsylvania Museum Neg. # S8-46911, *S4-142574: **3.2**, **5.35**, **5.52-53**; Vyse 1842:95: **3.4**; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore: **4.20**; Watzinger 1929:Pl. XVIIa: **5.44**; Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptische Sammlung: **5.5**; Winter 1987:Figs. 39, 481-482: **5.40**, **2.6a-b**; Yon 1991:Fig. 6:3: **1.9**.

Figures (all drawings by Ulrike Zurkinden)

1: Wilkinson 1878:Pl. LV:4; **2**: Gubel 1980:Pl. I:2; **3**: Winter 1987:Fig. 209; **4**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 15; **5**: Leclant 1960:Fig. 28; **6**: Winter 1987:Fig. 210; **7**, **9**: Seeden 1980:Pl. 102; **8**: Bryan 1996:Fig. 16; **10**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 11; **11**: Drawing from Blok 1930:Pl. III; **12**: Drawing from Grenier 1985:Pl. I; **13**: Winter 1987:Fig. 485; **14**: Winter 1987:Fig.

393; **15**: Winter 1987:Fig. 497; **16**: Cornelius 1994:Pl. 44; **17**: Keel 1996:Fig. 284; **18**: Keel 1996:Fig. 283; **19**: Lanzone 1886:Pl. XLIIIb; **20**: Bryan 1996:Fig. 16; **21**: Drawing from http:// ina.tamu.edu/images/ Uluburun/miscellaneous/Kw10769.jpg: **22**: Winter 1987:Fig. 225; **23**: Winter 1987:Fig. 14; **23a**: Grant 1934:Fig. 4; **24**: Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 82; **24a**: Caubet & Poplin 1987:Fig. 17; **24b**: Negbi 1976:Fig. 122; **25**: Herrmann 1994:No. 153; **26**: Rommelaere 1991:No. 17; **27a**: Stewart 1976:Pl. 40; **27b**: Drawing from Cornelius 1994:Pl. 24; **28**: Keel 1996:Fig. 324a; **29**: Leclant 1960:Fig. 24; **30**: Rommelaere 1991:No. 122; **31**: E Pusch (Hildesheim) redrawn by R Fourie (Stellenbosch); **32**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 12; **33**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 3; **34**: Gubel & Cauet 1987:Fig. 6; **35a**: Keel 1997:573; **35b**: Drawing of Private Collection, Fribourg, SK 1975.22; **35c**: Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 49; **36**: Keel 1995:Fig. 421; **37**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 7; **38**: Winter 1987:Fig. 41; **39**: Schaeffer 1939:Fig. 9; **40**: Drawing from postcard of item in Kfar Menahem Regional Museum; **41**: Winter 1987:Fig. 269; **42a**: Staubli 2003:Fig. IIIc:G; **42b**: Winter 1987:Fig. 291; **43**: Keel 1992a:Fig. 214; **44**: Keel 1992a:Fig. 215; **45**: Winter 1987:Fig. 146; **46**: Keel & Uehlinger 1998:Fig. 12b; **47**: Böhm 1990:Fig. 11d; **48:a-b**: Winter 1987:Figs. 161, 163; **49a-b**: Keel 1995:Figs. 209, 207; **50**: Schlippak 2001:Pl. 4:9.1; **50a**: Winter 1987:Fig. 13; **51**: Keel & Uehlinger 1998: Fig. 139; **52**: Schlippak 2001:Pl. 30; **53**: Cornelius 1994:Fig. 21; **54**: www.4to40.com/.../artcraft/ coloringbook8/ durga.gif.

A: Wright 1979:206-207; **B**: Wilkinson 1878:Pl. LV.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

1. *General remarks*

Since "The many faces" was published for the first time (2004), there have been reactions in shorter announcements and longer reviews. Loretz (2003) compiled an index of the Ugaritic texts referred to in the book. In his overview of Syro-Palestinian iconography Lewis (2005) made some positive references to it. Lipiński (2005) devoted a lengthy review to the book and was very critical on a few matters which could be taken into account (especially the linguistic evidence he brings into the argument – the studies of Bogoslovsky and Bogoslovskaya & Bogoslovsky he refers to [2005:122] are known to me, they are cited in a previous study on the Qedeshet stelae Cornelius [1994]).

Selz in his review refers to the value of the "Bilddokumentation" (2006:412) and ends on the note "Damit weist dieses Buch über den zugrunde gelegten Forschungsansatz hinaus. Es bietet nicht nur überaus nützliche Zusammenstellungen zur Ikonographie syro-mesopotamischer weiblicher Gottheiten, sondern fordert auch zu einer Diskussion über die in der altorientalische Religionsgeschichte noch weit verbreiteten Grundannahmen heraus. Damit kommt der Arbeit über den Nutzwert für die engere wissenschaftliche Forschung hinaus erhebliche Bedeutung zu" (2006:415). The book on the religion of Ugarit (Cornelius & Niehr 2004) includes new colour photographs of much of the material from Ugarit, as does the catalogue of the Lyon exhibition (Galiano & Calvet 2004). This is included in the notes to the *Catalogue* below. The new catalogue on the ivories by Gachet-Bizollon (2007) was not yet available to the me. For a description of the iconography of Anat, Astarte and Qedeshet, see now the author's entries for *IDD* (Iconography of Deities and Demons of the Ancient Near East – Uehlinger, C & J Eggler, J (eds.) – pre-publication available online at: www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications).

2. *Remarks on specific chapters*

1.1 Some books on female religion and the divine feminine which have since appeared are Dever (2005) on Asherah as the Hebrew goddess and the important well-illustrated catalogues of female images by Keel & Schroer (2004) and Keel (2007), which discuss some of the items in the book (references are also included in the notes to the *Catalogue*).

1.3.1 On stereotypes for "Canaanite culture" cf. Oden (1987:Chap. 5) and on the relationship between Ugarit and Canaanite culture cf. Pitard (2002:253-254).

1.3.2

Note 37: Wiggins should be Wyatt.
Note 57: Add Zevit (2003) and on popular religion Dever (2005).

2.1.1

For **Figs. 3-4** see now Lewis (2005:72-74, Figs. 4.4-4.5).

2.3

To the Anat material should be added the 8th-century relief of Šamaš-rēš-uṣur, *šaknu* of Sūḫu, where there is on the right side a headless figure identified by the label as Anat (Pritchard 1969:no. 533; Börker-Klähn 1982:no. 231; Cavigneaux & Ismail 1990; Mayer-Opificius 1995). Anat wears the *atef* crown. The *kuptu*-hat in CAT 1.108:7 might be the *atef* (Pardee 2002:205). Keel has published a Jordanian limestone head with an *atef* crown, ca. 9-8th centuries BCE (BIBEL+ORIENT Museum Fribourg VFig 2004.8 = Keel & Schroer 2004:#152 and Keel 2006, with reconstruction in Keel 2007:#126). It was part of a larger statue and could be identified with Anat, but rather *Astarte* (Keel 2006:119) (**Fig. 55**). For the ivory from Ugarit (**Cat 3.11**; p. 37) see now Cornelius & Niehr (2004:Abb. 101-102).

2.4

The identification of the equestrian figures with Astarte (2.4) is criticised by Lipiński (2005:124-128). Using linguistic arguments as only he can, he argues for Anat. He also analyzes the winged figure on scarabs, which he

links with the winged Anat as known from the Ugaritic texts. As this is a matter for the specialist philologists, I shall refrain from adopting any new view on the matter for the time being.

However, a new Egyptian stela was found by James Hoffmeier at Tell el-Borg in Sinai (Hoffmeier & Kitchen 2007) dated to the 14th century. It is exceptional because it depicts for the first time Resheph and Astarte *together*. Both deities are identified by the inscriptions. There can be no doubt about the name of *Astarte*. The representation of Astarte is also unique as she is on a throne *and* on horseback (**Pl. 4.4b**: Photograph by Jessica Hoffmeier Lim and provided courtesy of James K. Hoffmeier). For Astarte on horseback on scarabs see now the Qantir scarab 2003/0396 (Keel & Schroer 2004:140).

To the literature add now Karageorghis (2006).

2.5

For Qedeshet/Qudshu see now Lahn (2005), who is writing a dissertation on Q. in Egypt. She has a very complete list of items and included are also terracotta votive model beds from the 20th-24th dynasties (Stadelmann 1985).

2.5.1

Cat 5.5 shows a figure on the right (correct also the description in Cornelius 1994:71) as can be seen on the colour photograph at http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/viewArtefact?id=318382 – with thanks to Kristina Lahn of Hamburg for this information (**Pl. 5.5**: Copyright Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien).

2.5.3

The late Roger Moorey (2003) wrote a very important book on the terracottas, in which he takes a careful look at the interpretation of the plaque figurines. The author is working on a catalogue of the other plaque figurine types (see *inter alia* Cornelius 2004) and has read papers on this in Zürich (C Uehlinger – January 2006), at the international SBL meeting (Edinburgh 2006), in Berlin (M Köckert – July 2007) and Bochum (C Frevel – December 2007). A chapter on the Gezer terracotta plaque figurines was com-

pleted for *Gezer Volume VI*. During June-July 2006 original material was studied in collections in Israel and London.

For **Fig. 42a** see now Keel & Schroer(2004:#69).

3.1.3 For a photograph of **Fig. 50a** (p. 64) and the necklace with pendants (p. 65) see now Cornelius & Niehr (2004:Abb. 54 and 50).

3.3.4

According to Hess (2007:99, 322) there is Ugaritic evidence (to be published by Pardee) that Astarte should be associated with a lionness.

4.2

Anat as the sister of Baal occurs in CAT 1.3:IV:**39** and not 49; cf. also 1.10:20. In 1.6:II:12 she calls Baal her brother.

4.3

On the horse of Astarte cf. now Pardee in Hallo (1997:294n5).

4.4

p. 94: The Qarnayim mould is not **5.22** but **5.13**! p. 95: On the title *qdš* see now Lewis (2005:73n15), who also opts for Ilu.

3. *Remarks on DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE* (pp. 103-142)

Cat 1.3 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 64 [P].
Cat 1.7 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 88 [P colour].
Cat 1.8 Herrmann 1999:Pl. II [D].
Cat 1.9 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 89 [P/D].
Cat 1.10 Herrmann 1999:Pl. II:3 [P/D]; Keel & Schroer 2004:Abb. 58.
Cat 2.2 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 90 [P].
Cat 2.3 According to Cecchini (2005:247), the bird-headed figure holds a ram-headed staff and not merely a plant.
Cat 2.4 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 86 [P colour]; Galiano & Calvet 2004:#153 [P colour].

Cat 2.7 RS 1.[009]. Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 80 [P colour]; Galiano & Calvet 2004:#164 [P colour]; Lewis 2005:72, Fig. 4.2 [P].

Cat 3.3 Keel & Schroer 2004:Fig. 152a.

Cat 3.4 Herrmann 1999:Pl. I [P].

Cat 3.8a Guri-Rimon (2001:23 [P colour].

Cat 3.9 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 87 [P]; Galiano & Calvet 2004:#315 [P colour].

Cat 3.11 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 65 [P]; Lewis 2005:98-99 Fig. 4.32 [P].

Cat 4.2 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 91 [P].

Cat 4.4 Keel & Schroer 2004:#109 [P] and Keel 2007:#124 [P colour].

Cat 4.5 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 92 [P]; Yalçin *et al.* 2005: 667 #259 [P colour].

Cat 4.13a Keel & Schroer 2004:#111 [P colour].

Cat 4.19 Keel & Schroer 2004:#110 and Keel 2007:#125 [P colour].

Cat 5.3 Keel & Schroer 2004:#108 and and Keel 2007:#115 [P colour].

Cat 5.4, 5.7 and **5.14** are from Deir el-Medina (Lipiński 2005:123). In response to Lipiński's (2005:123) remark that the reverse side of 5.14 is not depicted – it is in Boreux (1939:Fig. 1) as quoted on p. 97.

Cat 5.5 Cf. above under 2.5.1 and **Pl. 5.5a**.

Cat 5.13 Keel & Schroer 2004:Abb. 52.

Cat 5.17 The disks are: three to her *right*, two to her *left*. Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 81 [P]; Yalçin *et al.* 2005:667 #260 [P colour], wrongly described as "Astarte."

Cat 5.20 6.5 x 2.84. Cornelius & Niehr 2004:frontispiece and Abb. 85 [P colour]; Galiano & Calvet 2004:#310 [P colour]; Lewis 2005:72-73, Fig. 4.3 [P].

Cat. 5.22 Clamer 2004:1314ff. with Figs. 21.21:4 [D]; 21.26:1-2 [P], Pl. VII:3 [P colour]; Keel & Schroer 2004:Fig. 108a; Lewis 2005:84-85 Fig. 4.23.

Cat 5.23 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 83 [P].

Cat 5.24 Keel & Schroer 2004:#107.

Cat 5.27 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 84 [P].

Cat 5.28 Cornelius & Niehr 2004:Abb. 82 [P colour].

Cat 5.29 Yalçin *et al.* 2005: 595 #104 [P colour], described as Astarte.

Cat 5.33 Kletter 1996:V.**2**.14.
Cat 5.39 Holland 1975:C.V.a.**12**.
Cat 5.50 also Kletter 1996:5.V.8.
Cat 5.51 Kletter 1996:5.V.**2**.22.
Cat. 5.56 Keel & Schroer 2004:#106.

4. *Remarks on WORKS CITED* (pp. 143-192)

Hrouda, B 1957-1971 should be **Seidl, U &** Hrouda, B 1957-1971.

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[This only includes new literature not mentioned in the first edition.]

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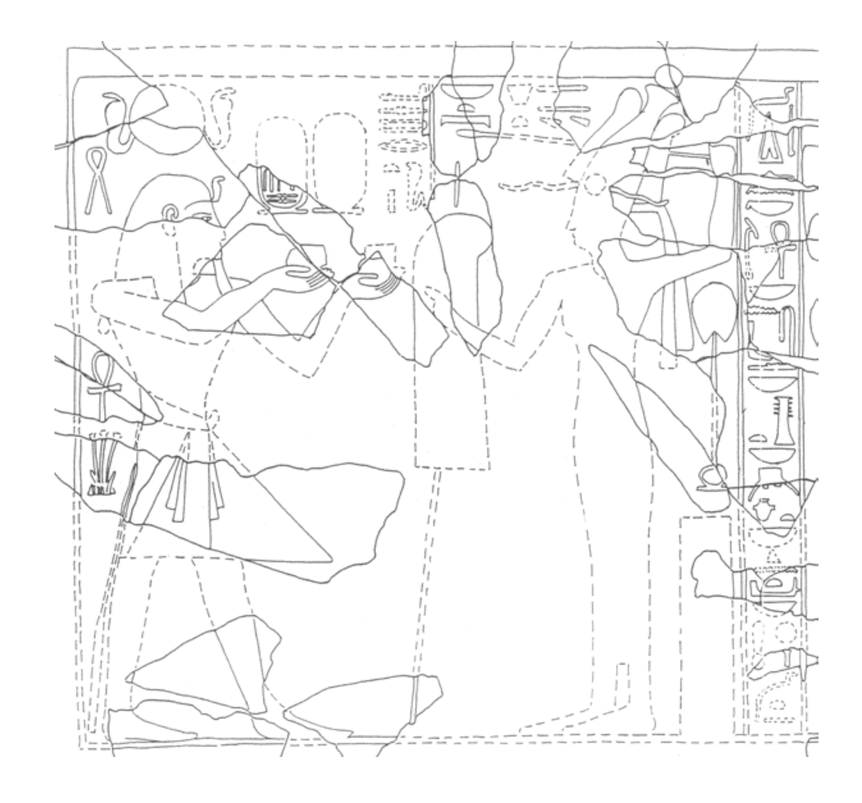
PLATES

FIGURES

MAPS

PLATES





1.1-1.1a

PLATES





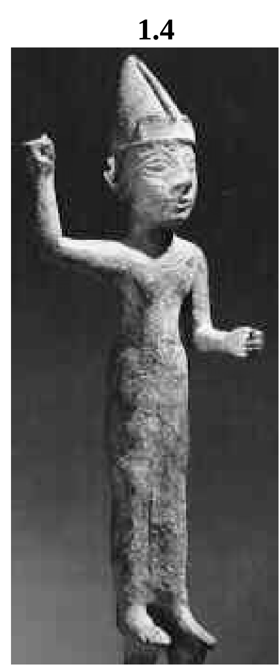
1.2-1.3

PLATES



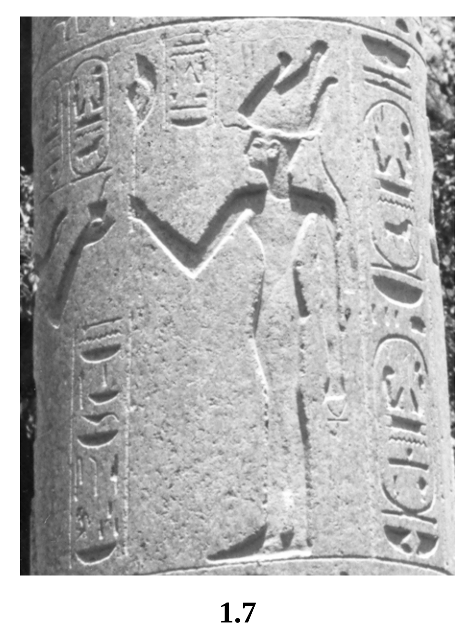


1.4





1.5-1.6



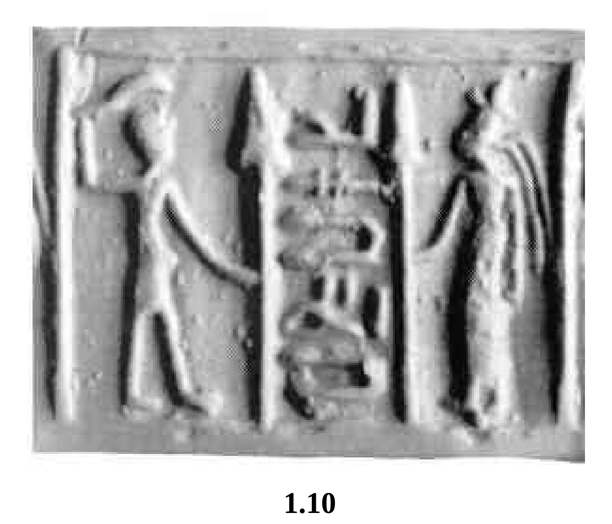
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1.9



1.8



1.10



2.1



2.2



2.3



2.4



2.5

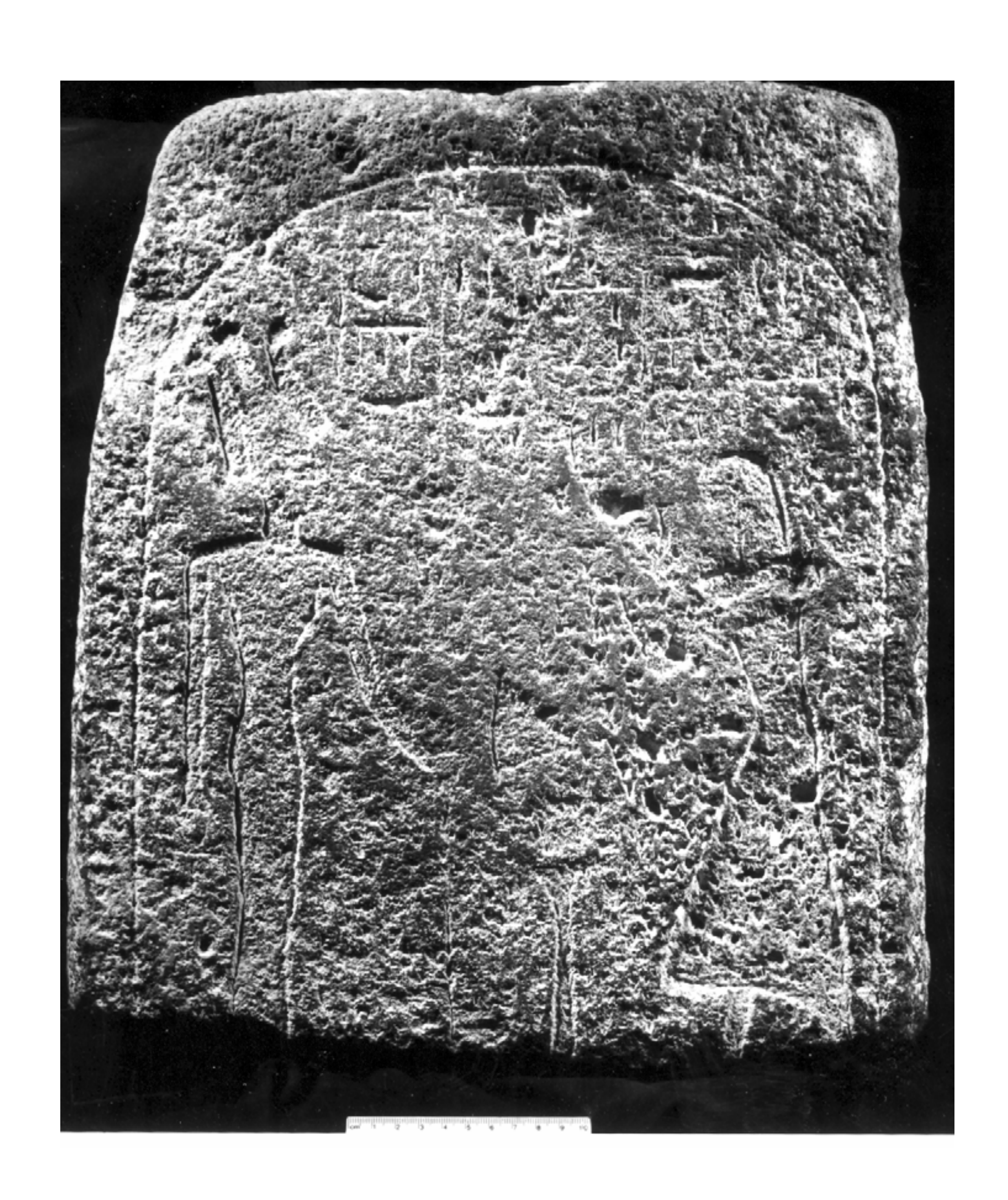




2.6a-b



2.7

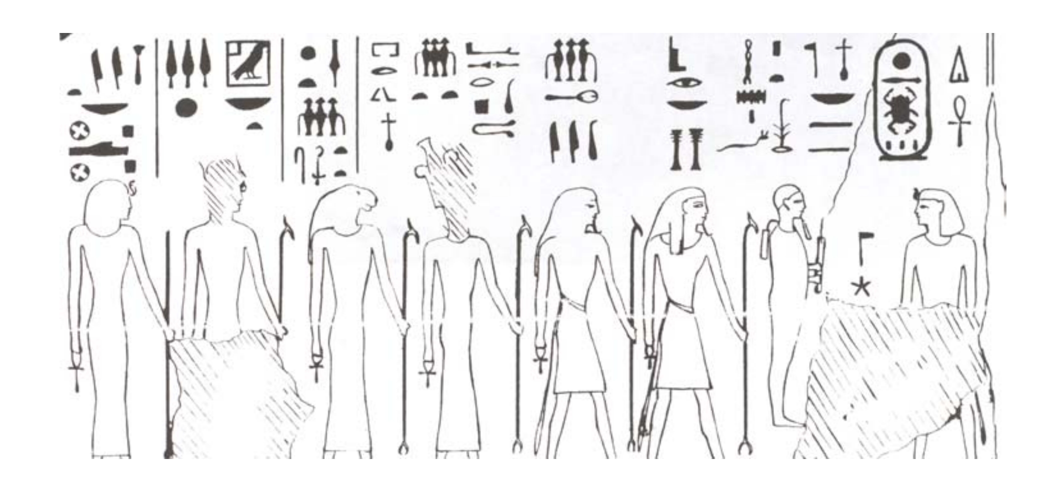


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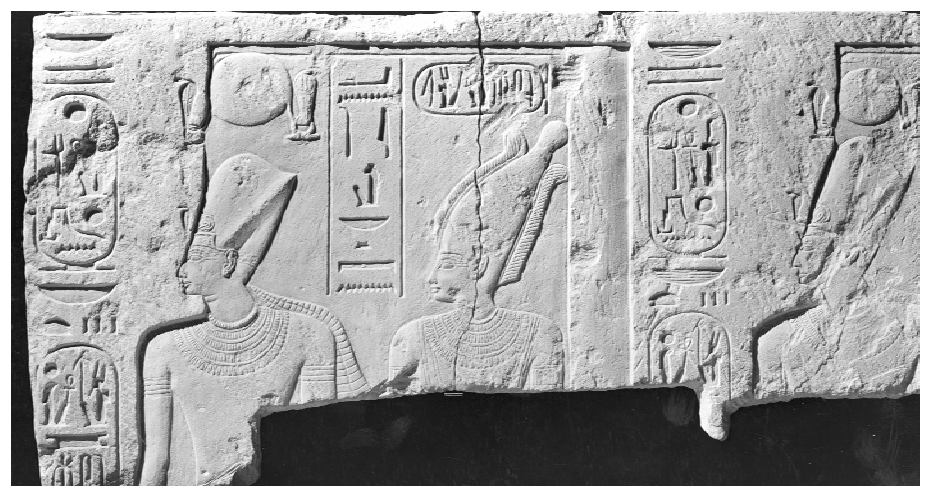
3.2-3.3





3.4-3.5





3.6, 3.8

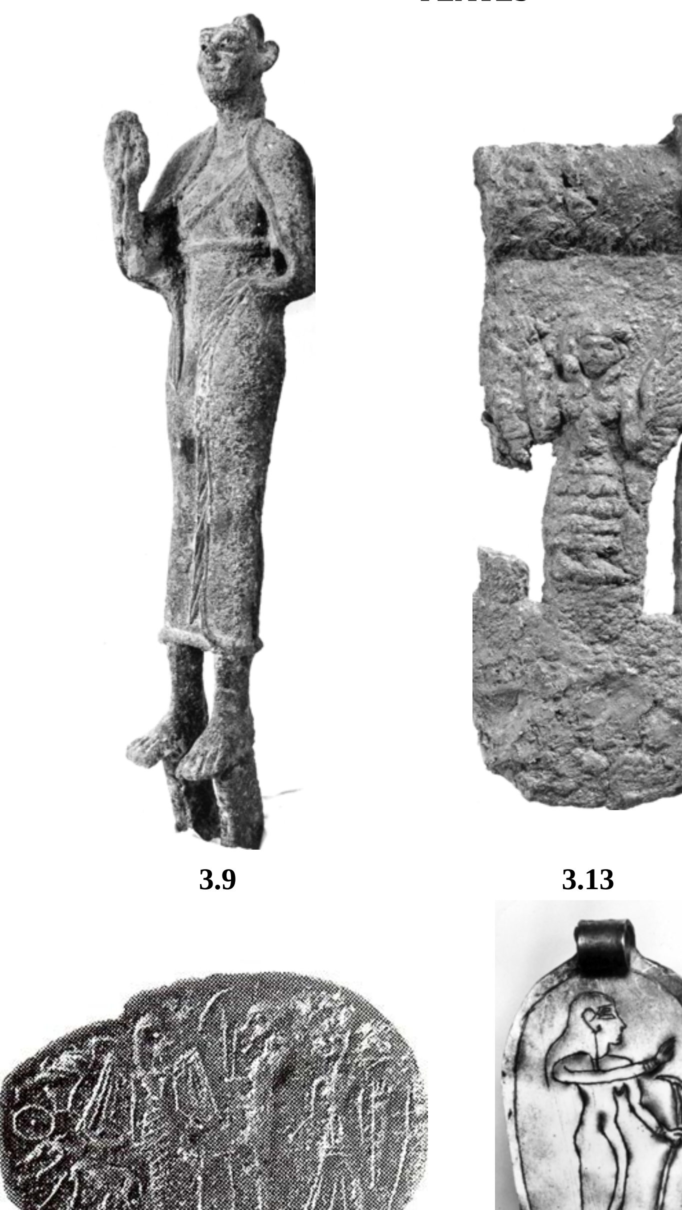




3.7 **3.8a**

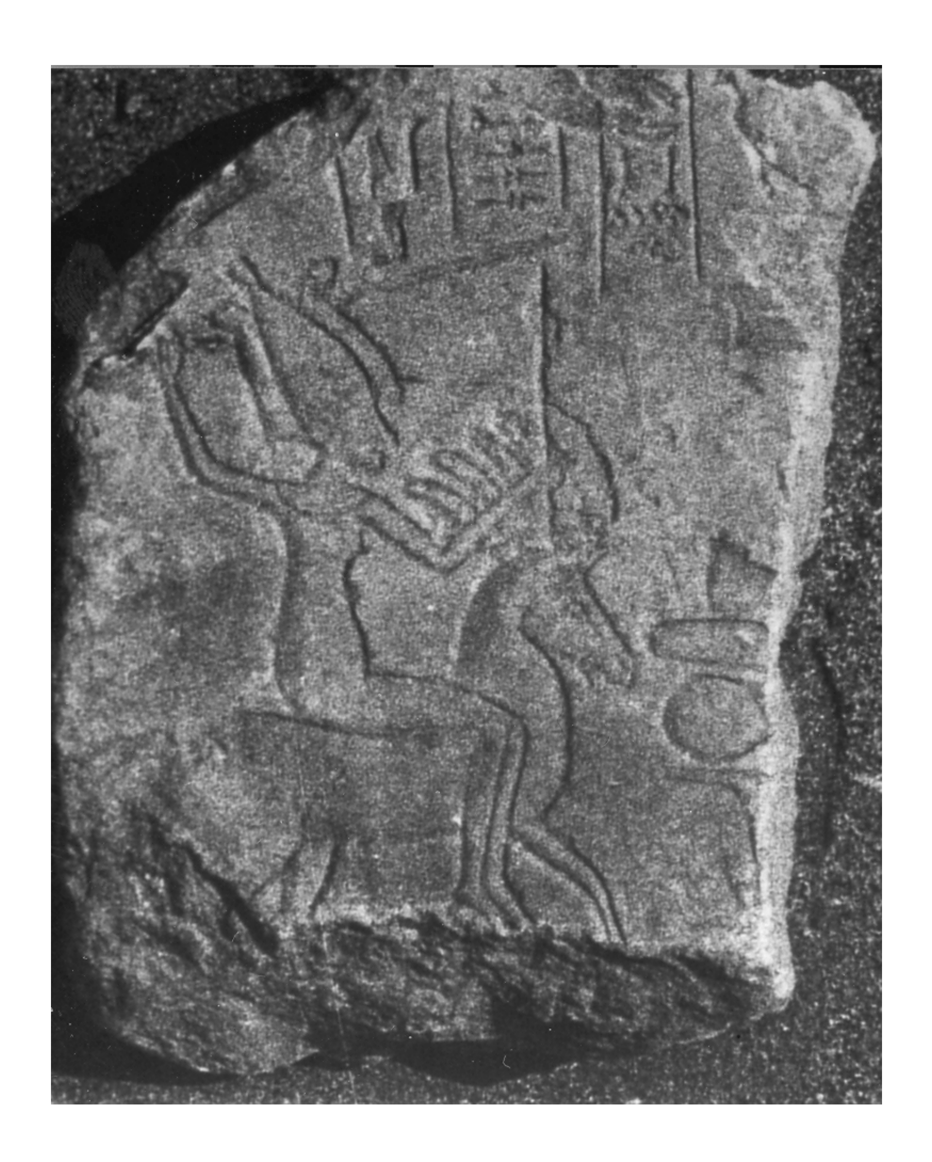


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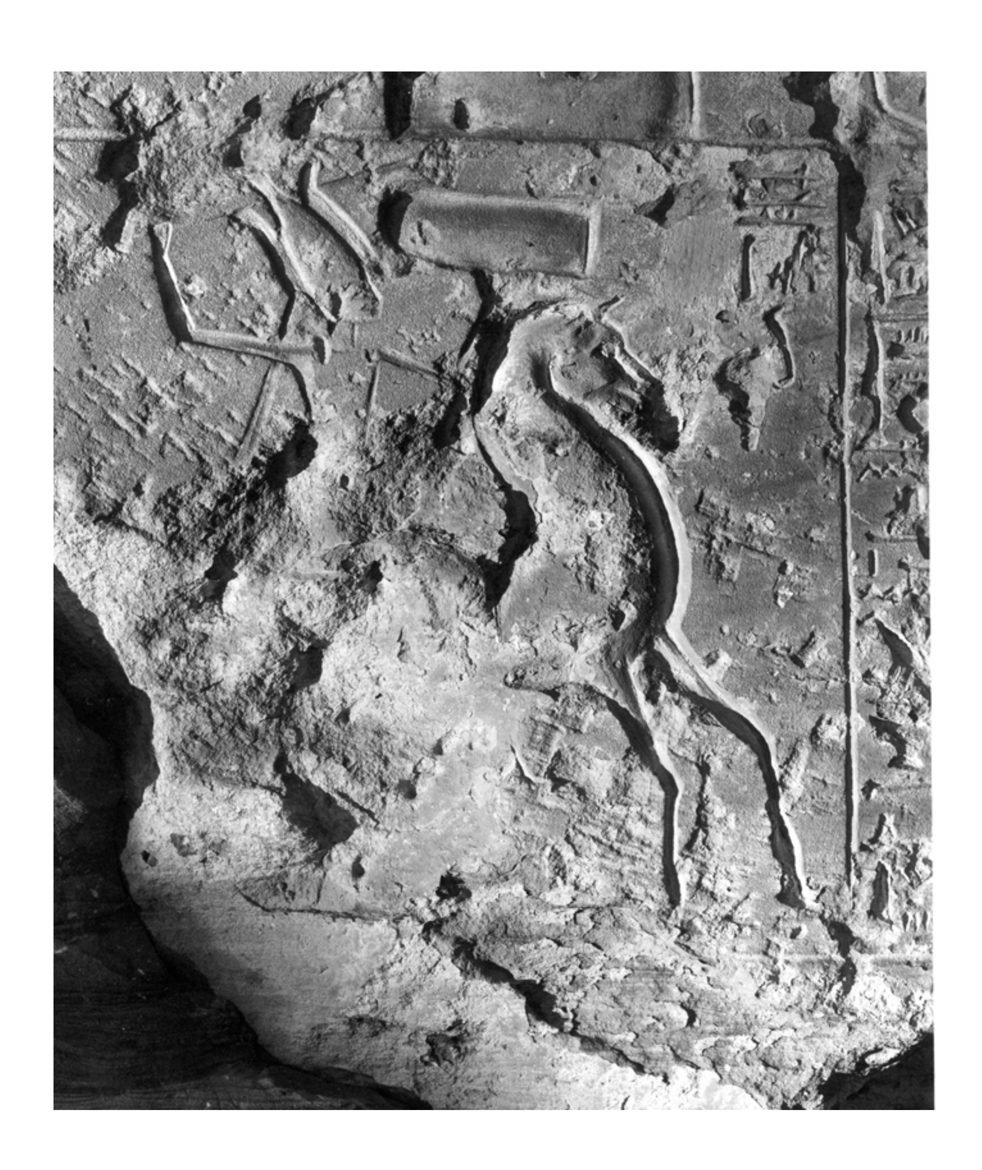


3.9 **3.13**

3.12 **3.10**



4.1



4.2



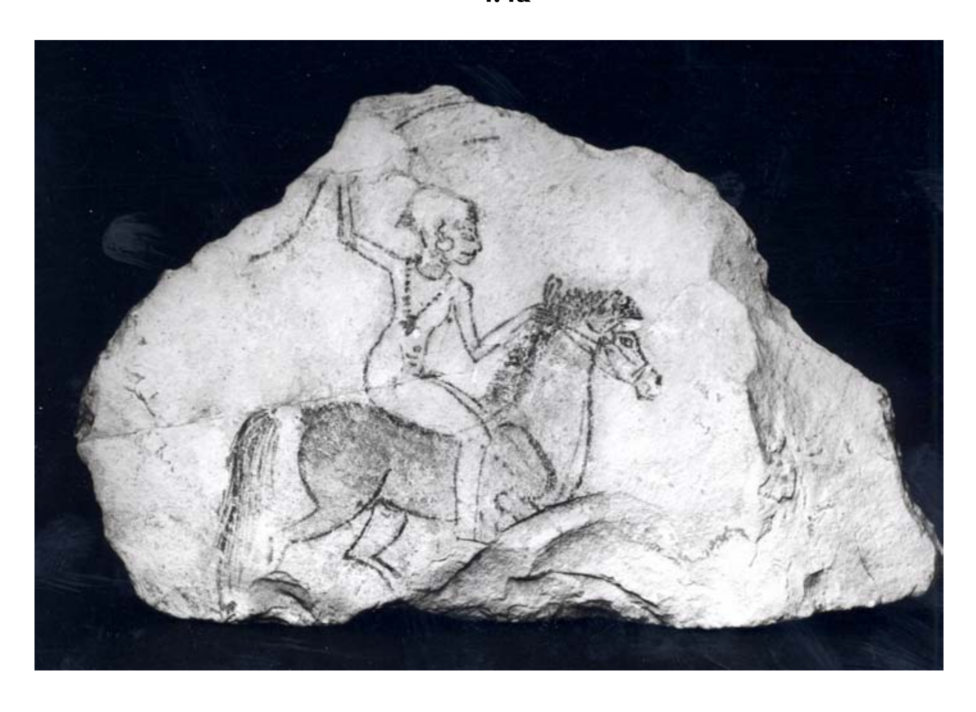
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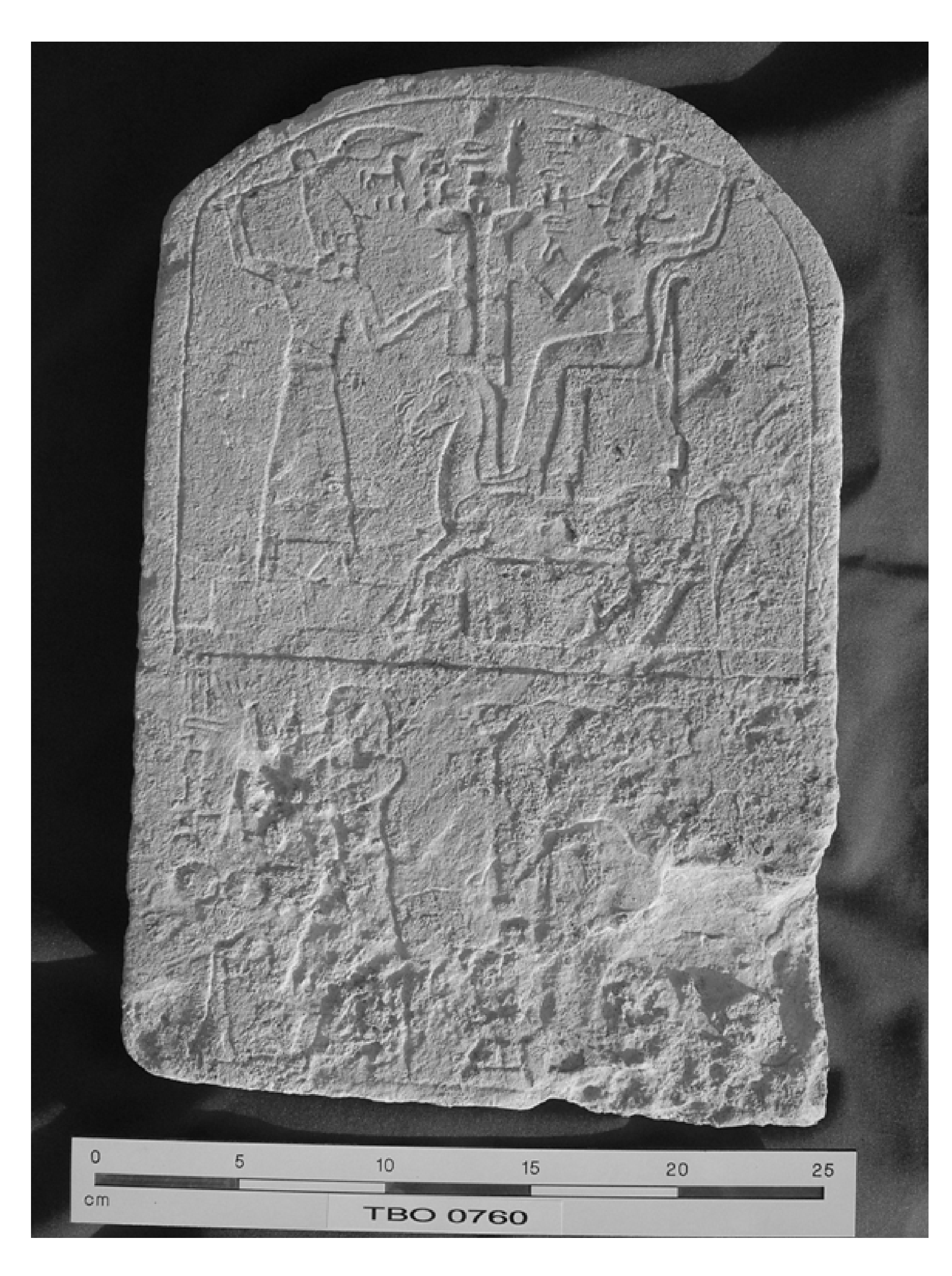
4.4



4.4a



4.5



4.4b



4.6



4.7

PLATES



4.8

4.9

4.10

4.11

4.12

4.13



4.13a **4.14** **4.15**

4.16 **4.17** **4.18**

4.19 **4.20**



4.21





4.22



4.23



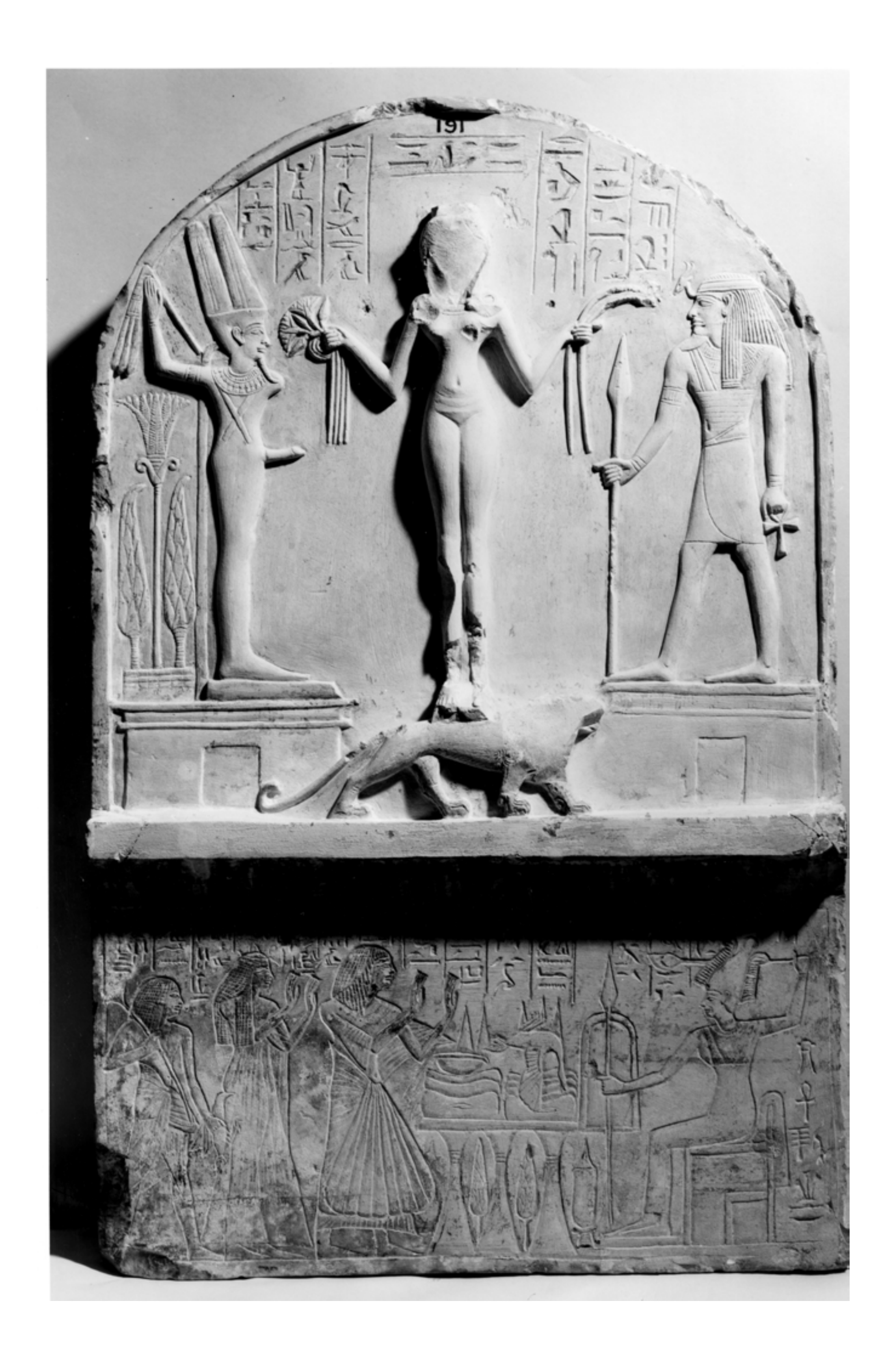
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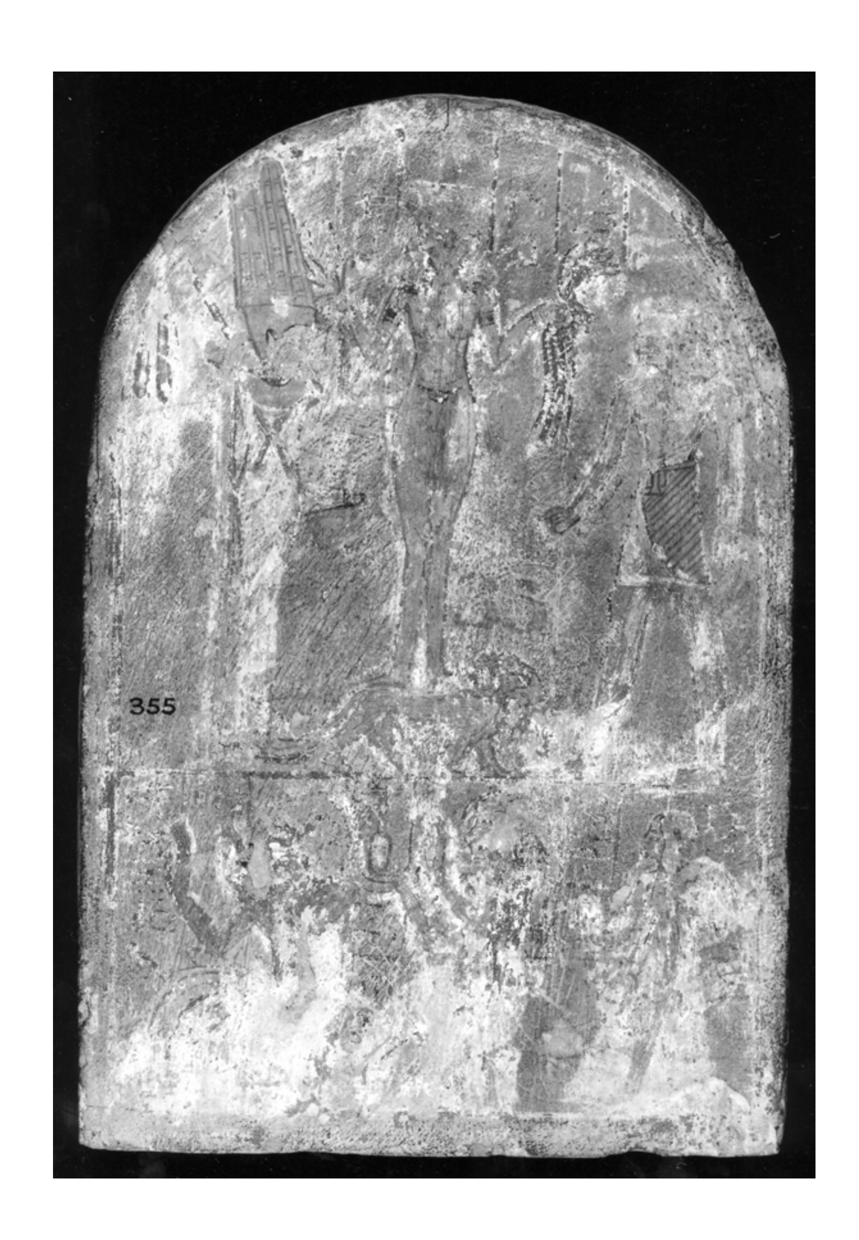
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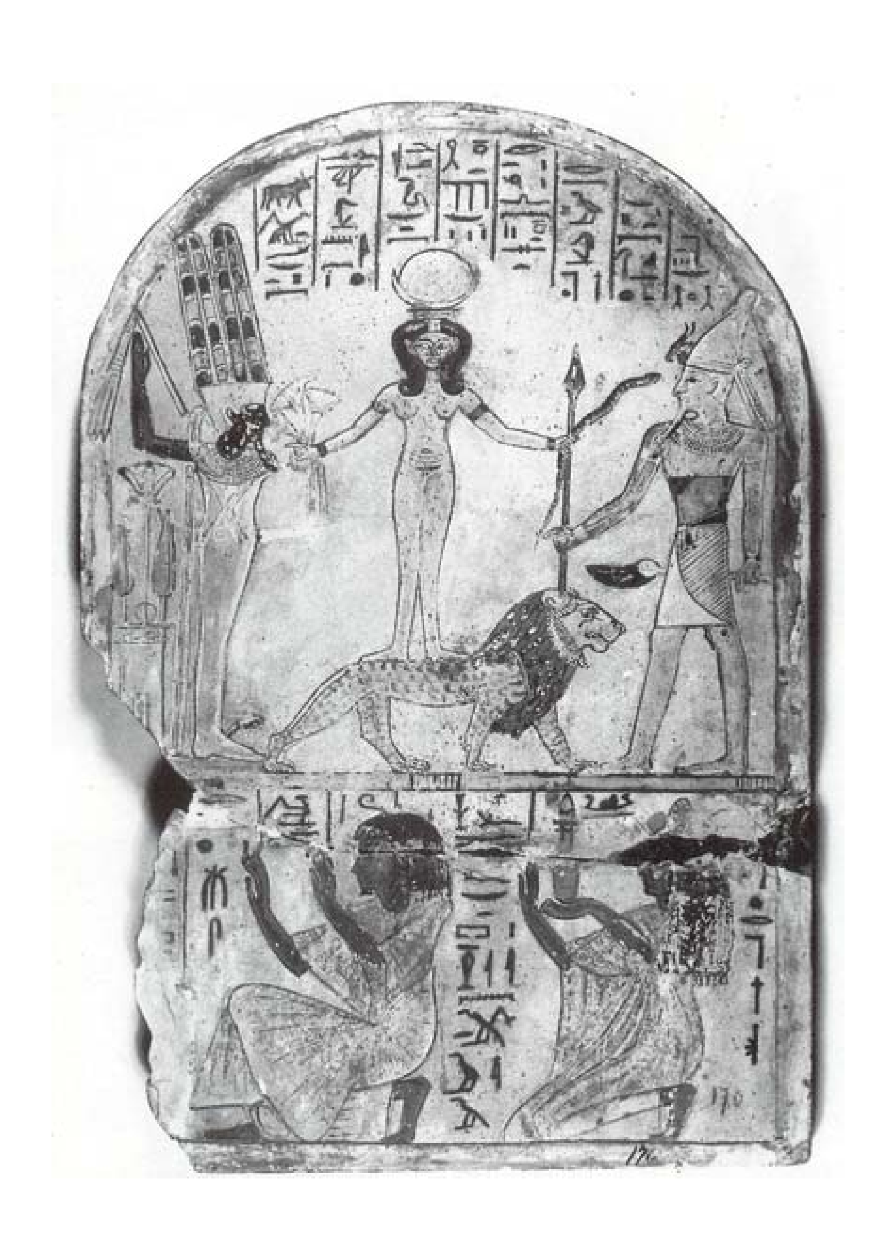
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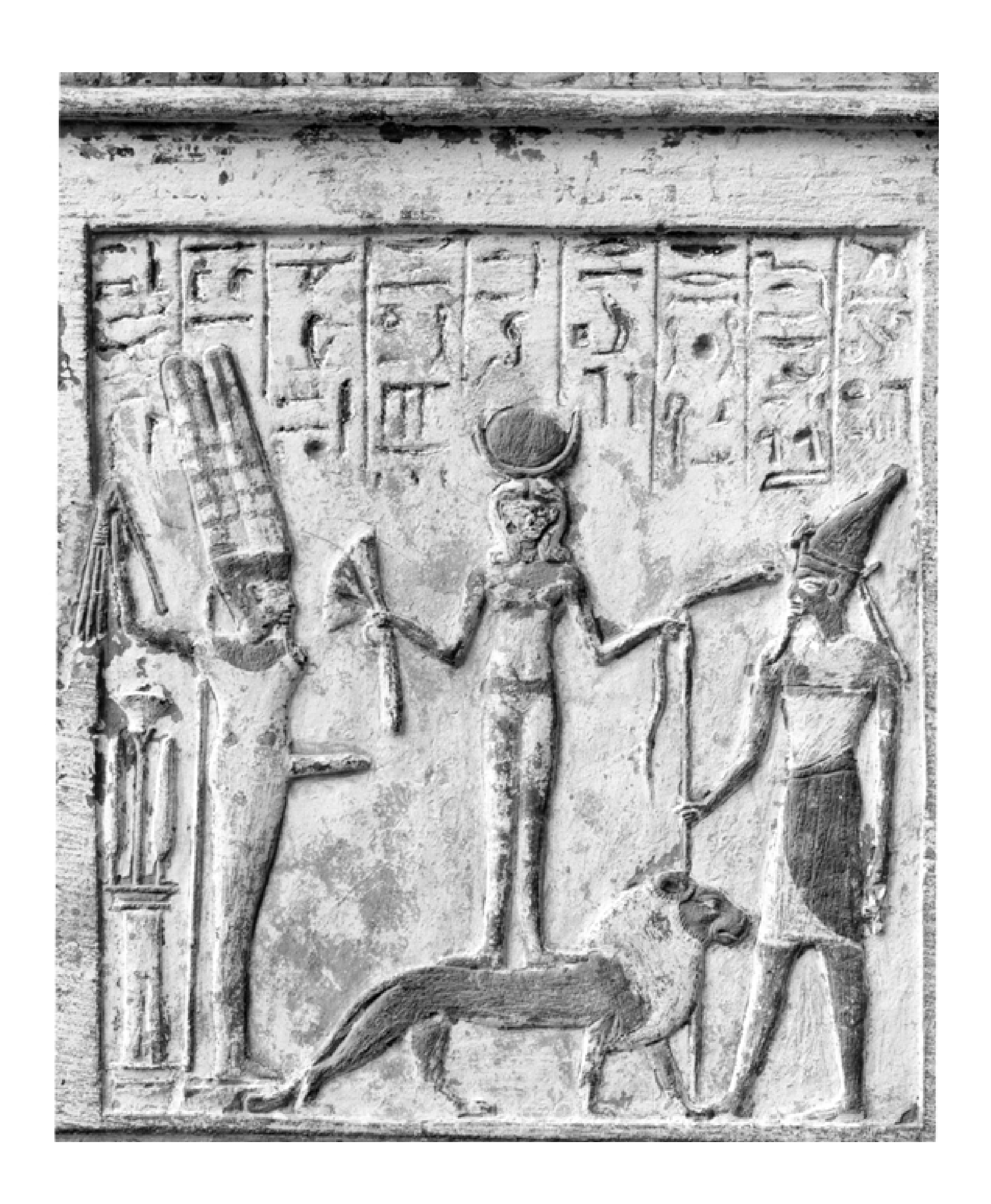
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5.3



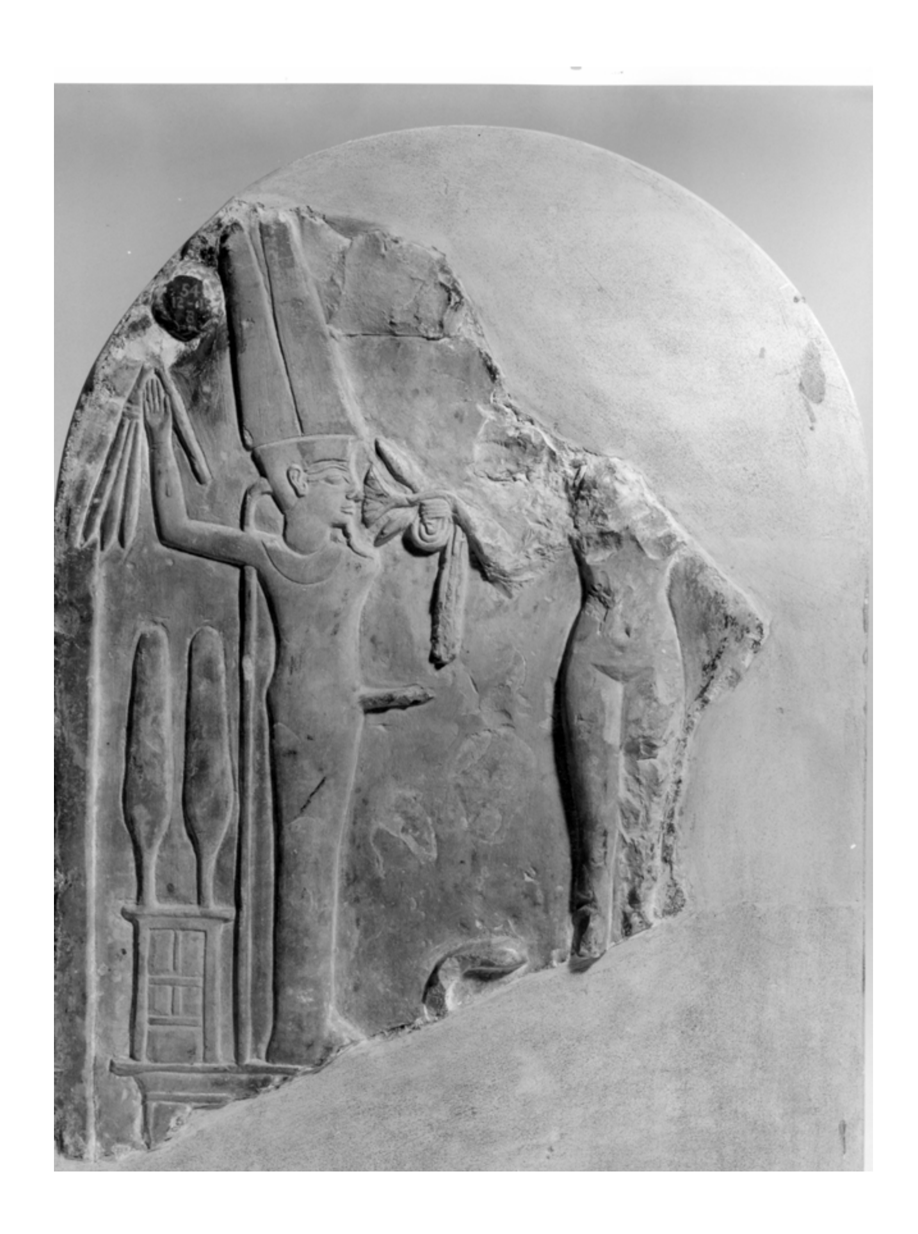
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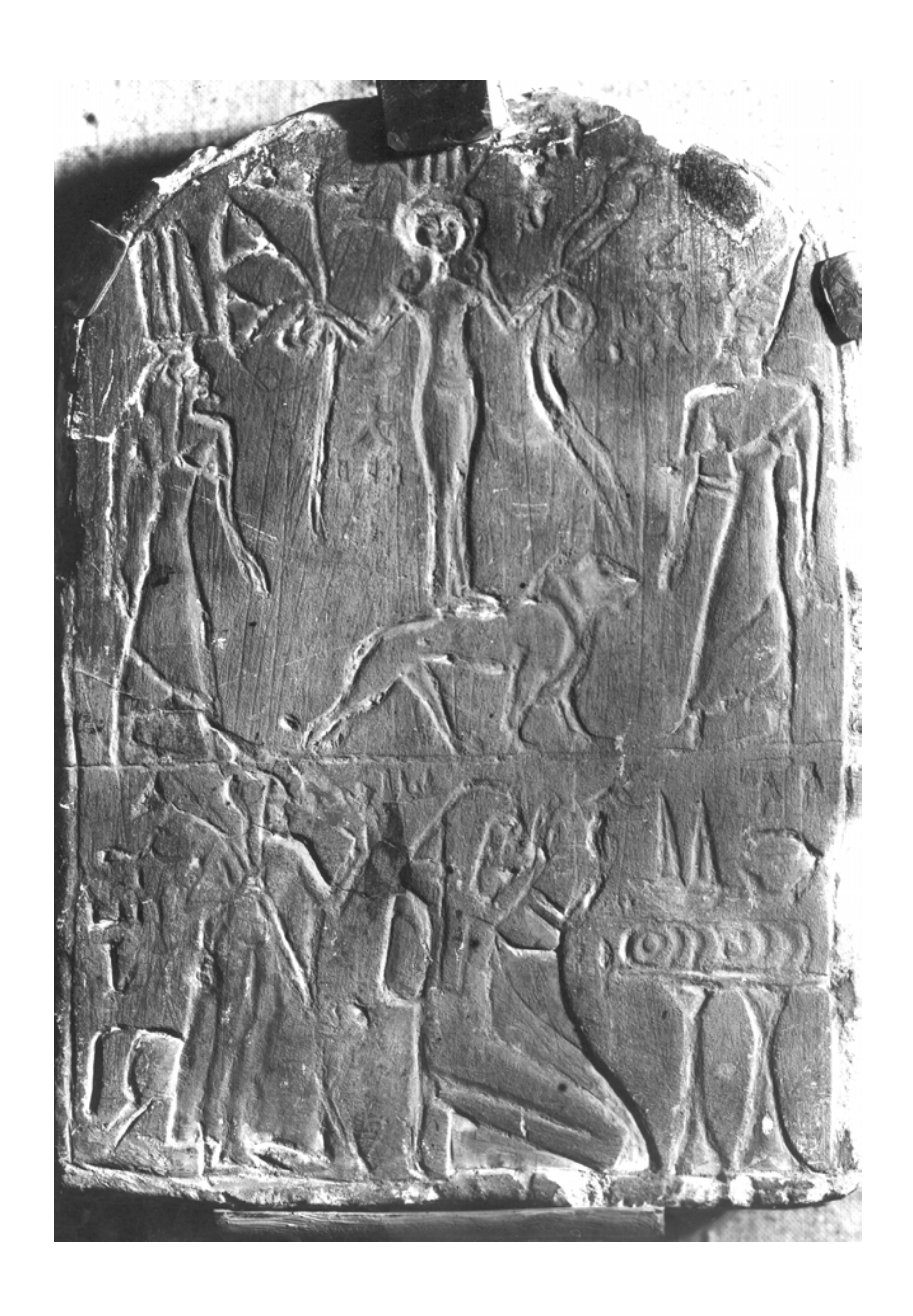
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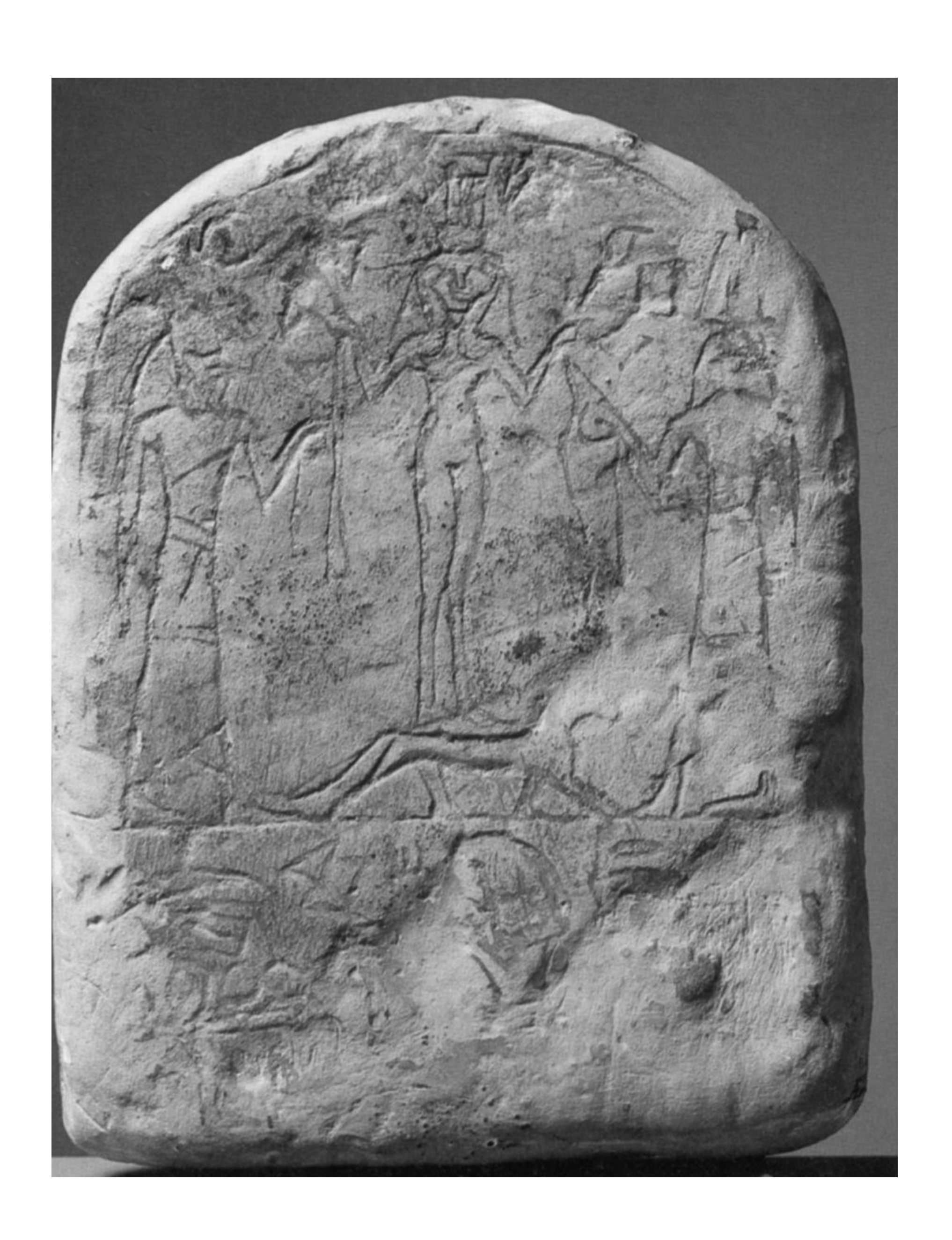
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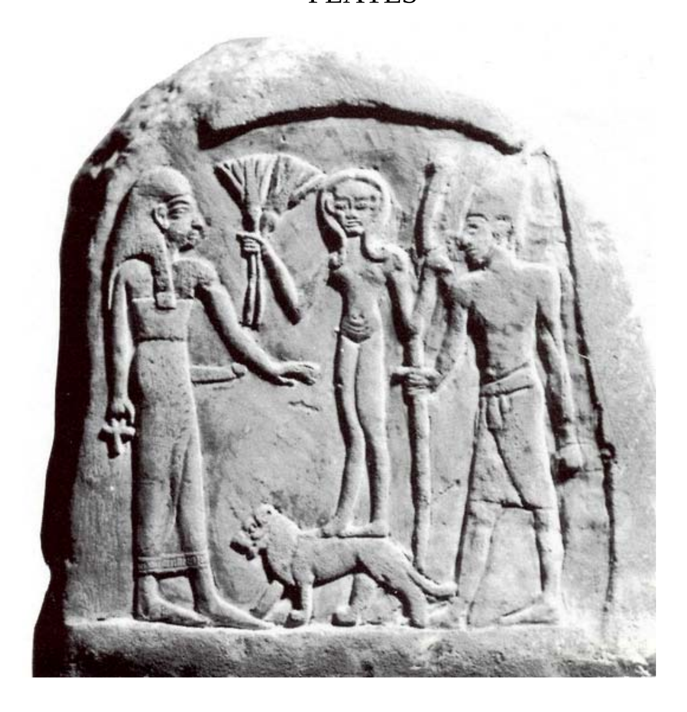
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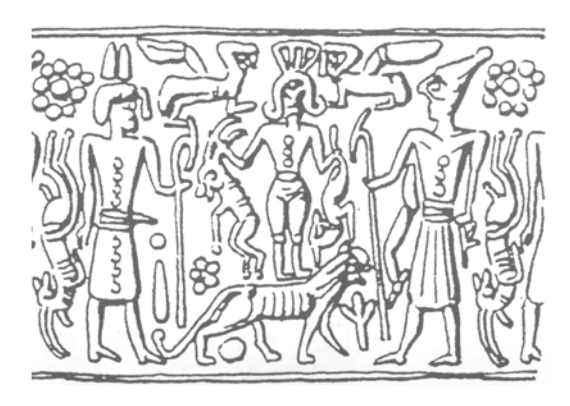
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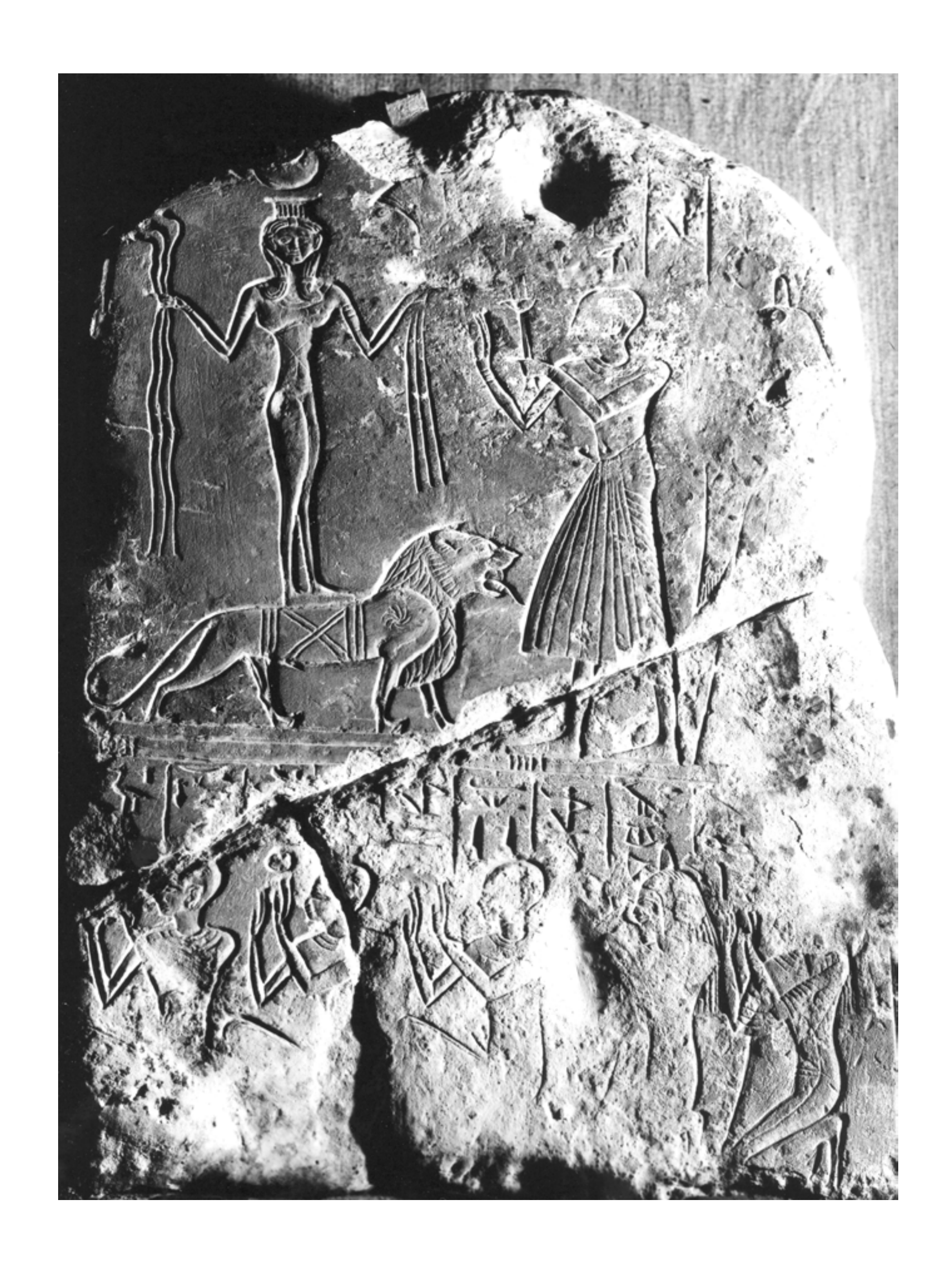
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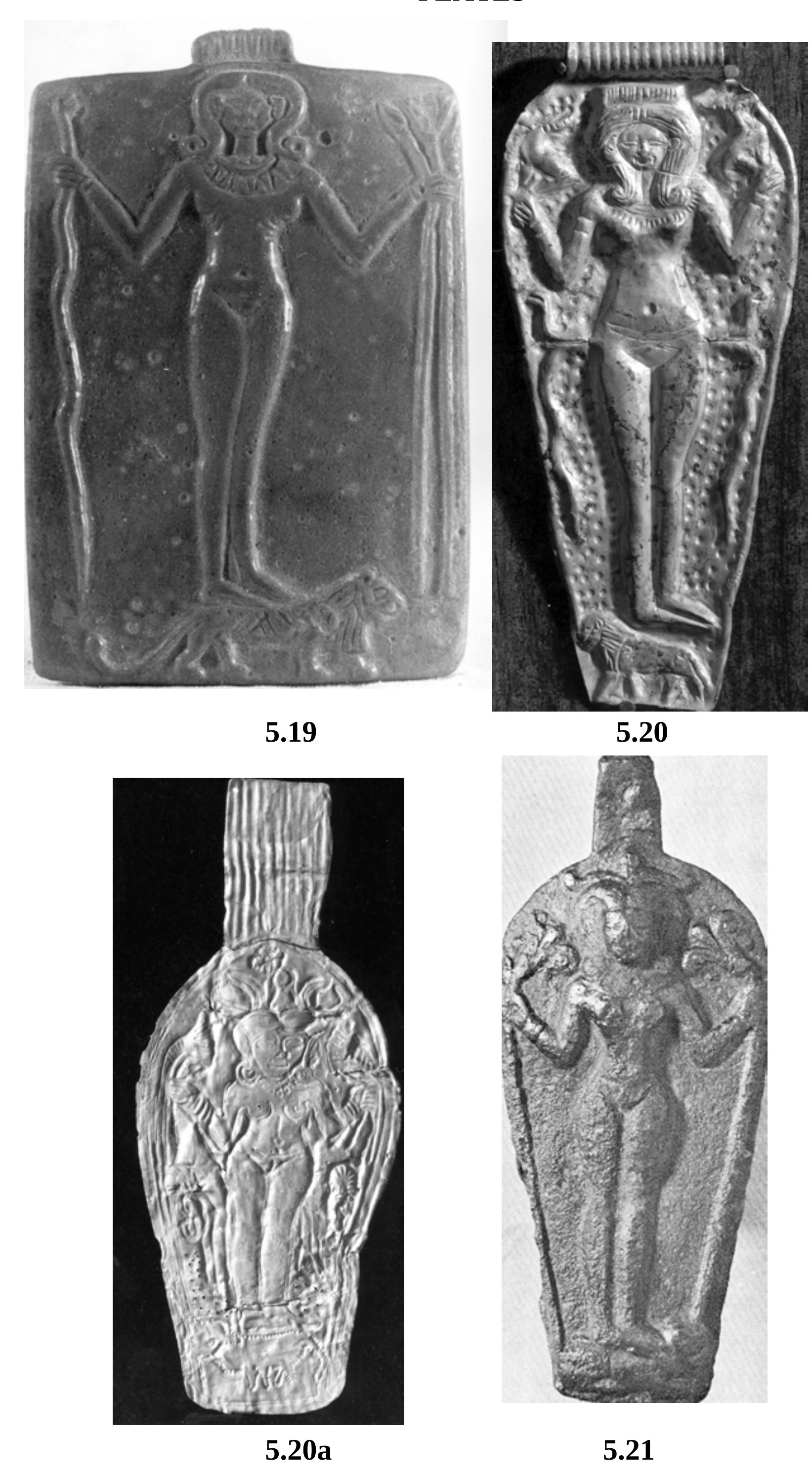
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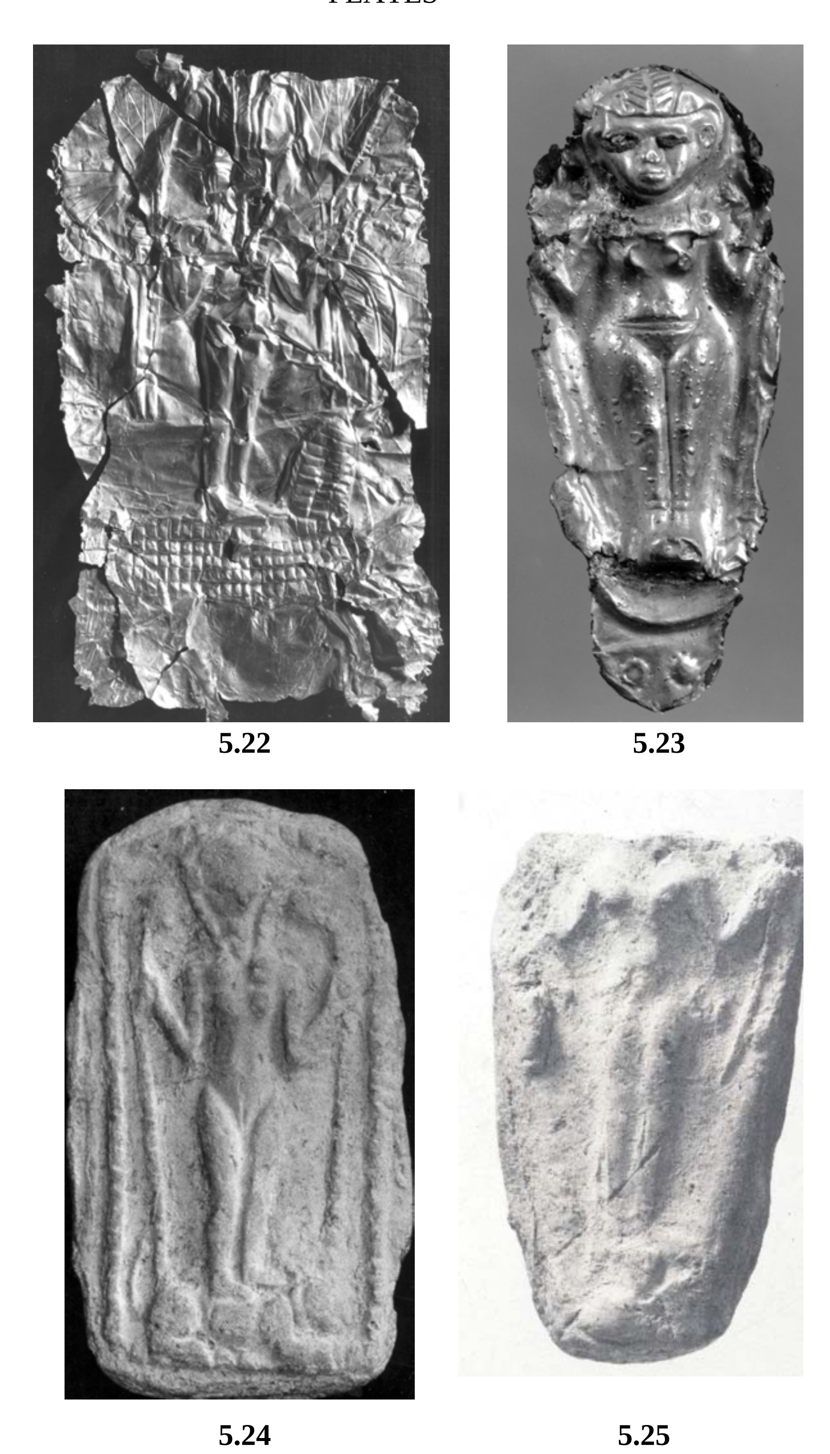


5.18



5.19 5.20

5.20a 5.21



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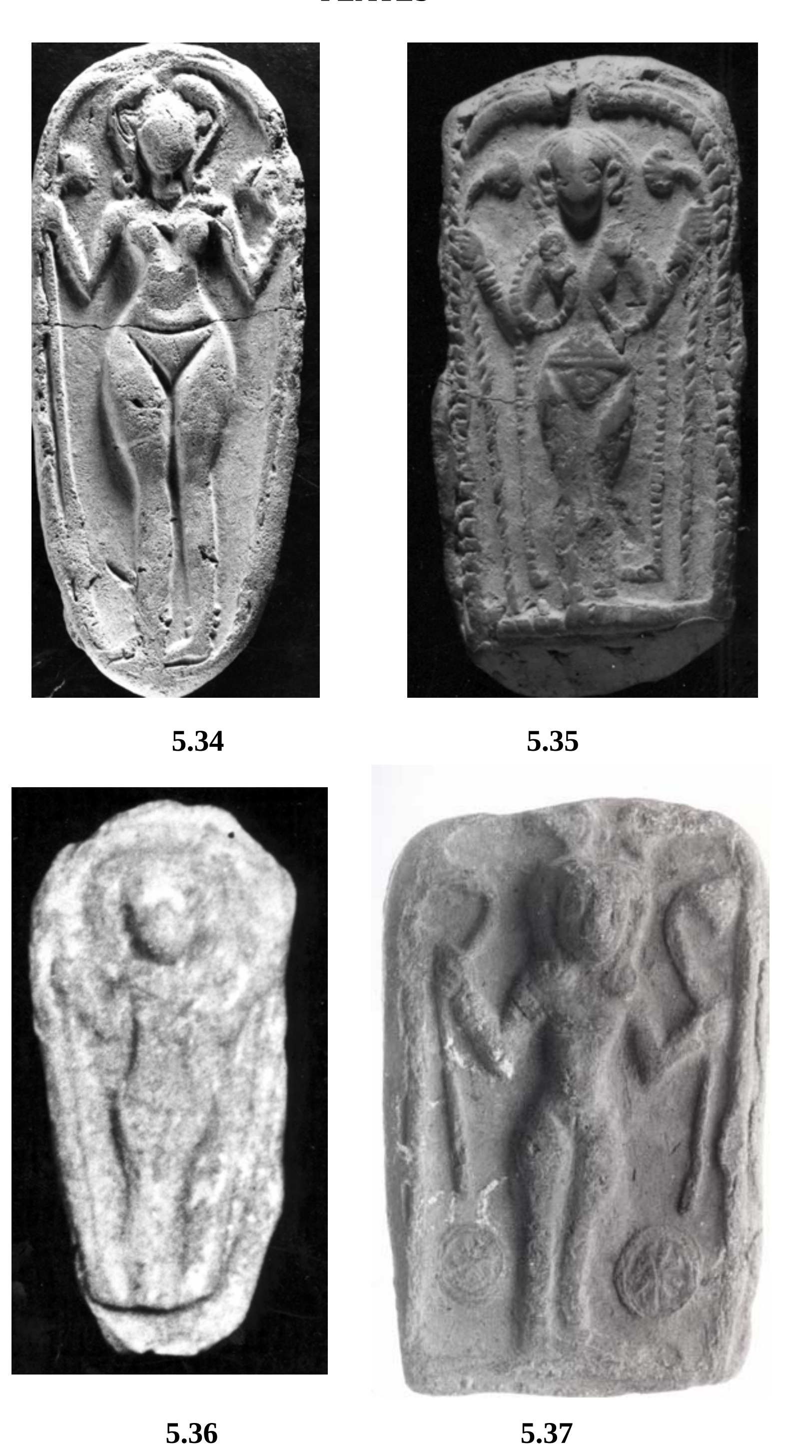
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5.34 **5.35**

5.36 **5.37**



5.38



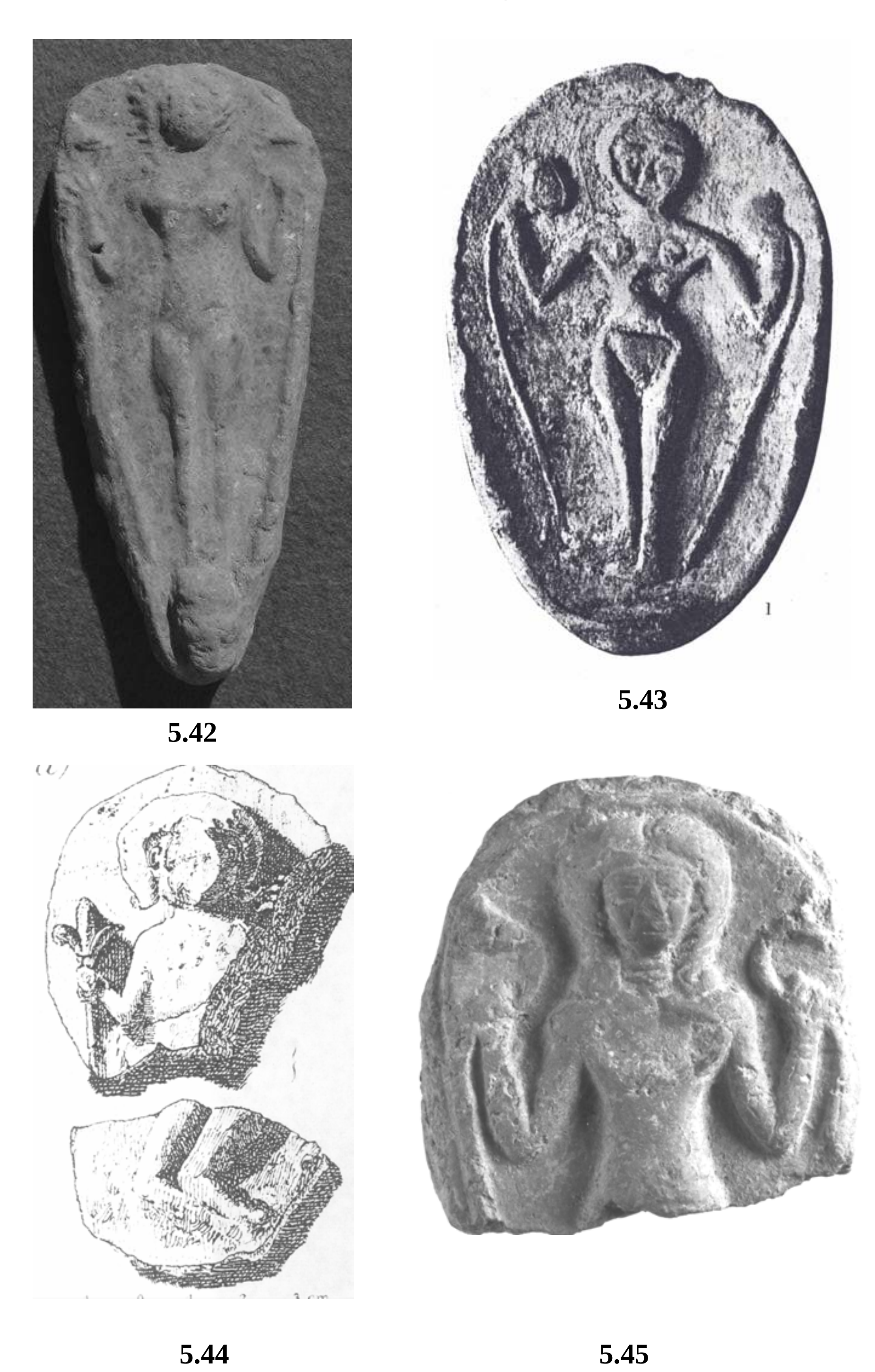
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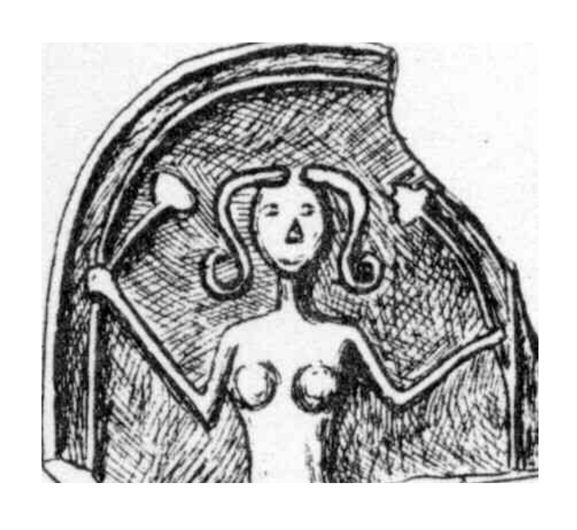
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5.46

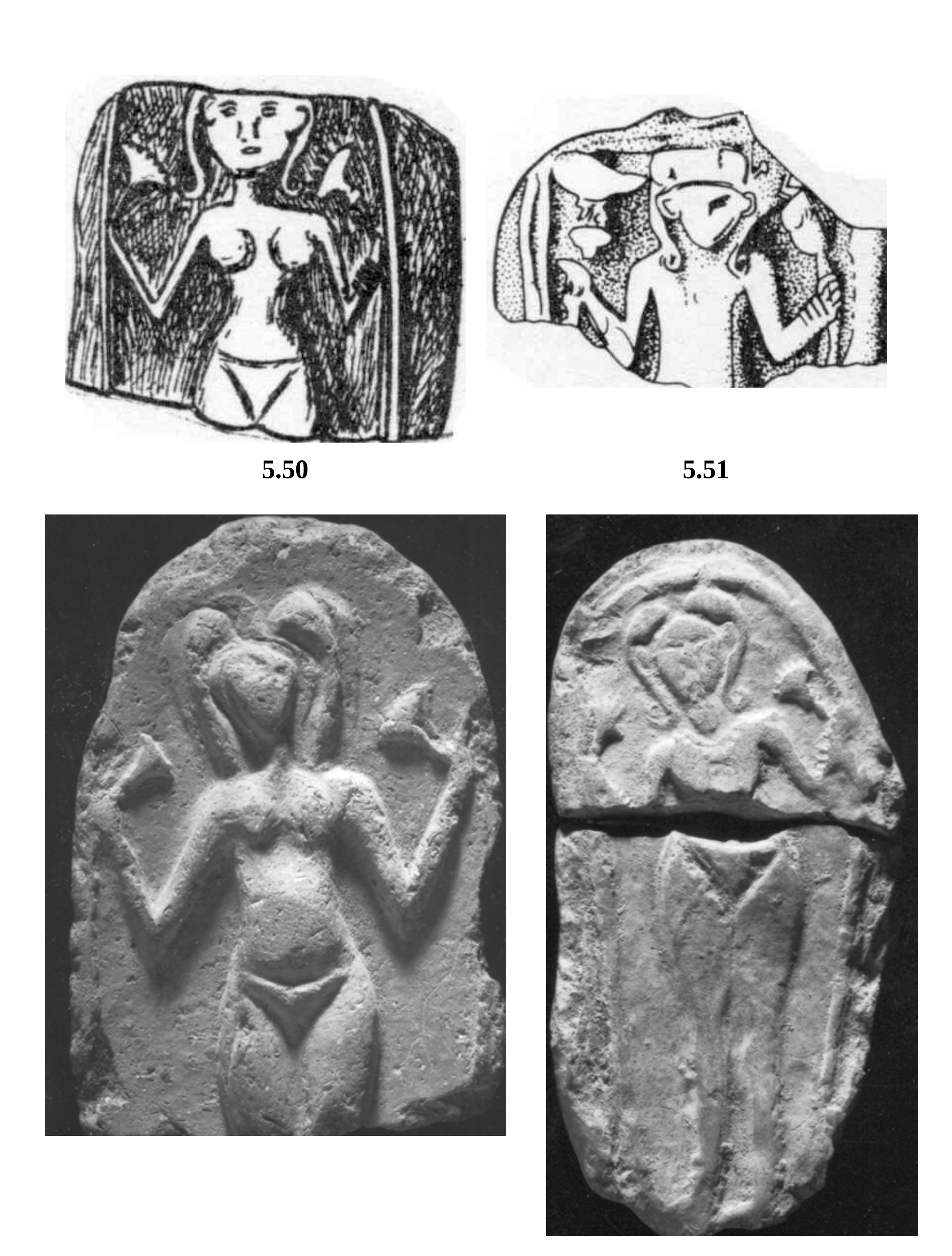
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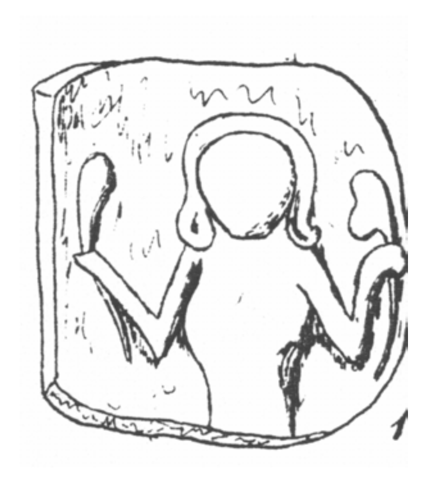
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5.49



5.50 **5.51**

5.52 **5.53**



5.54



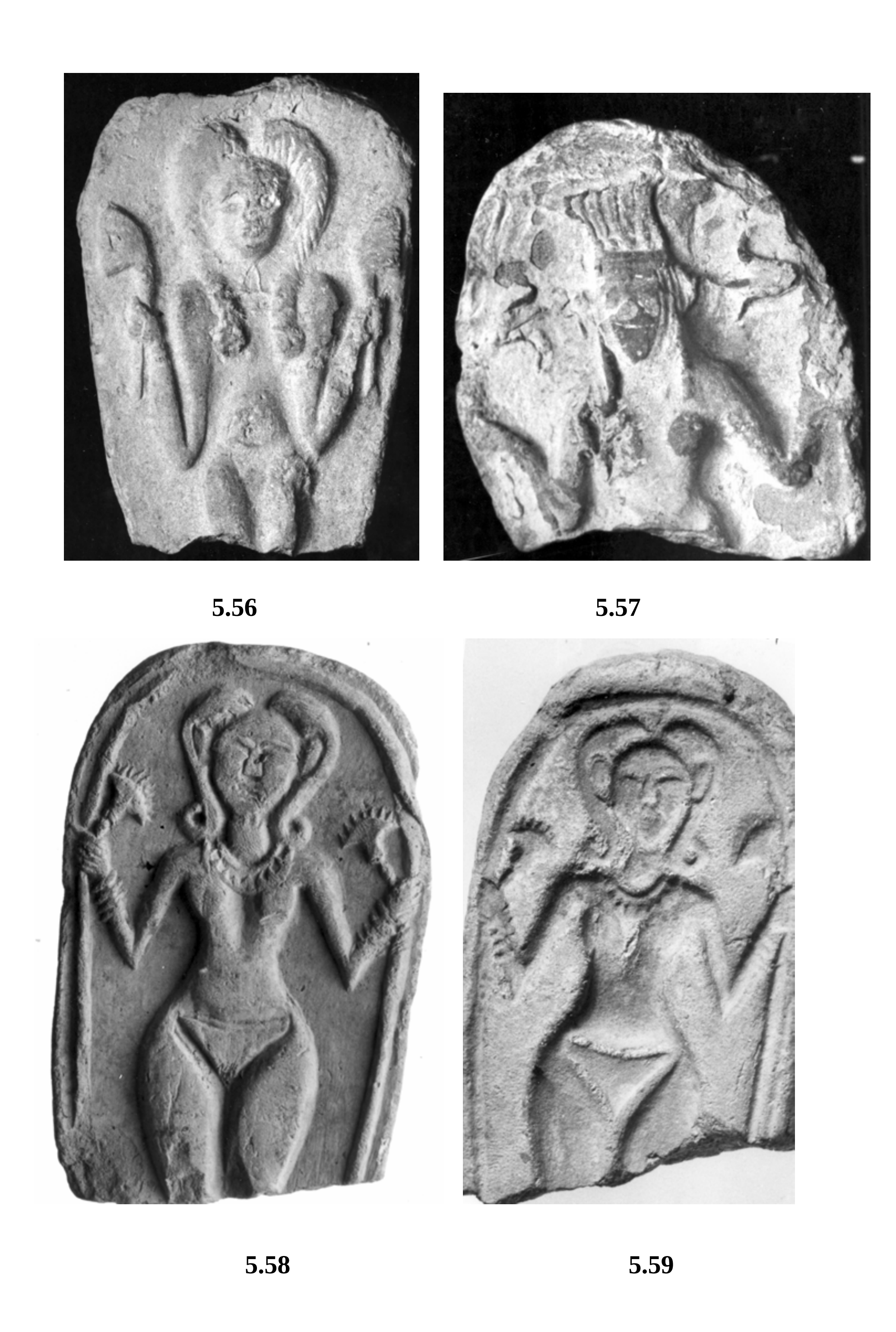
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5.55b



5.55a

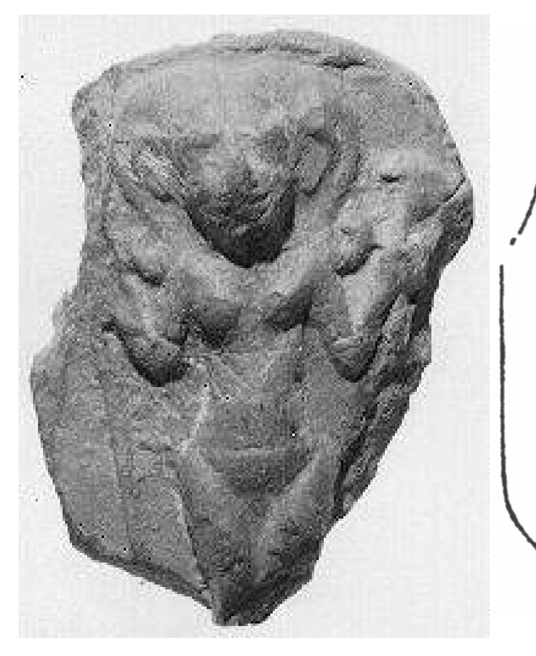


5.56 **5.57**

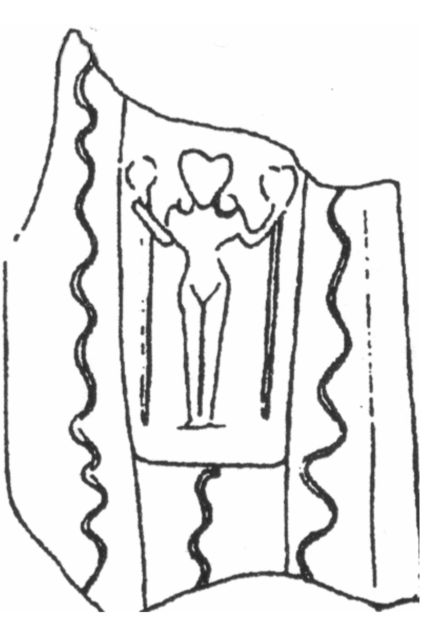
5.58 **5.59**



5.60 **5.61**



5.61a



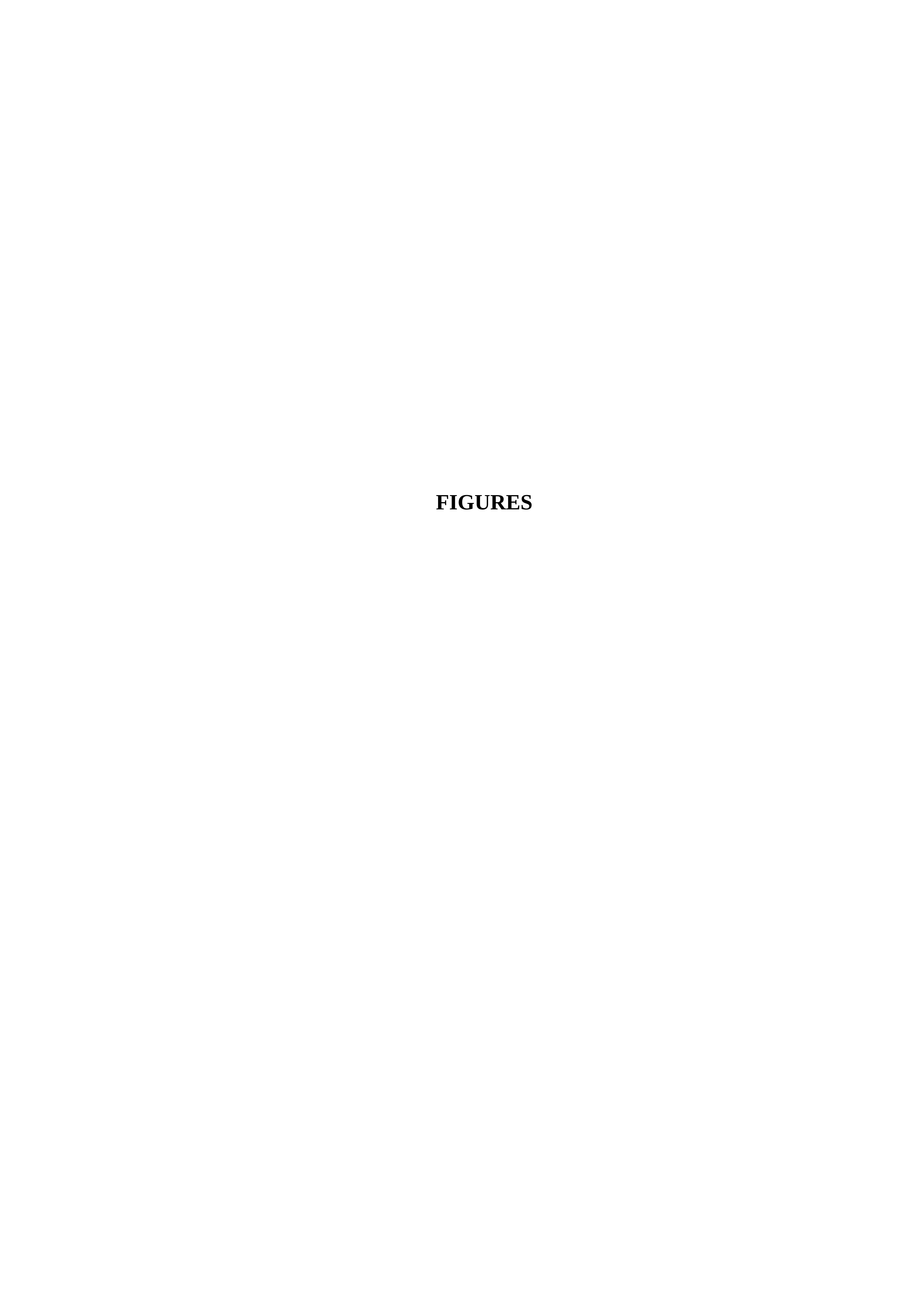
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PLATES





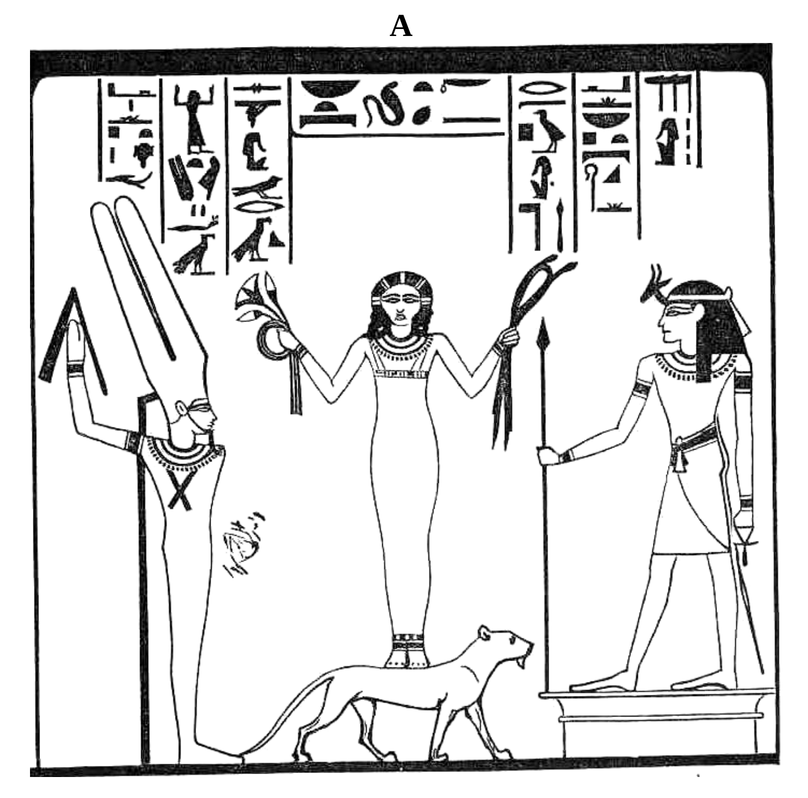
A-C



FIGURES




A



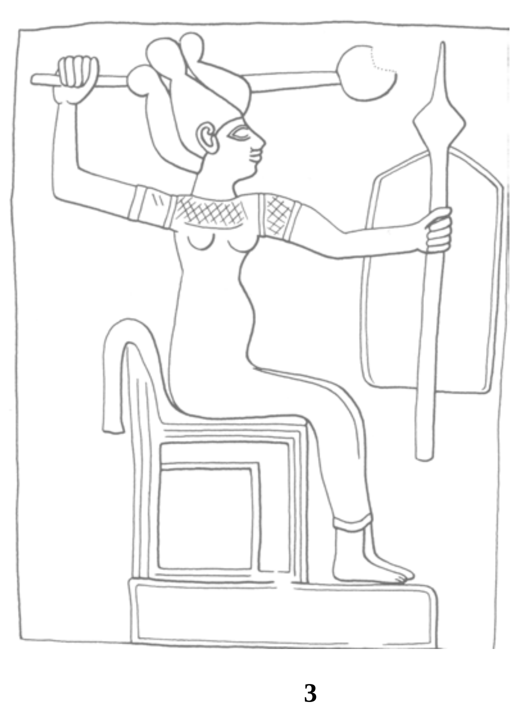
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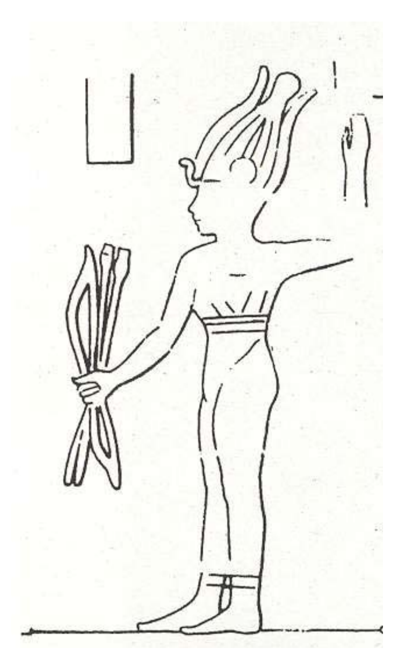




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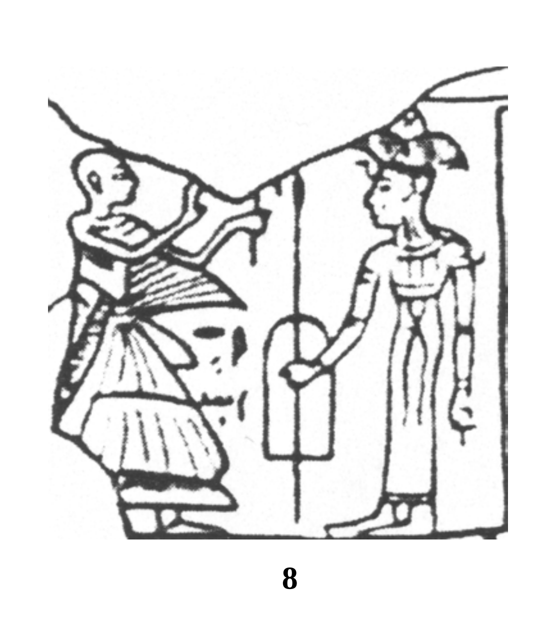
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4



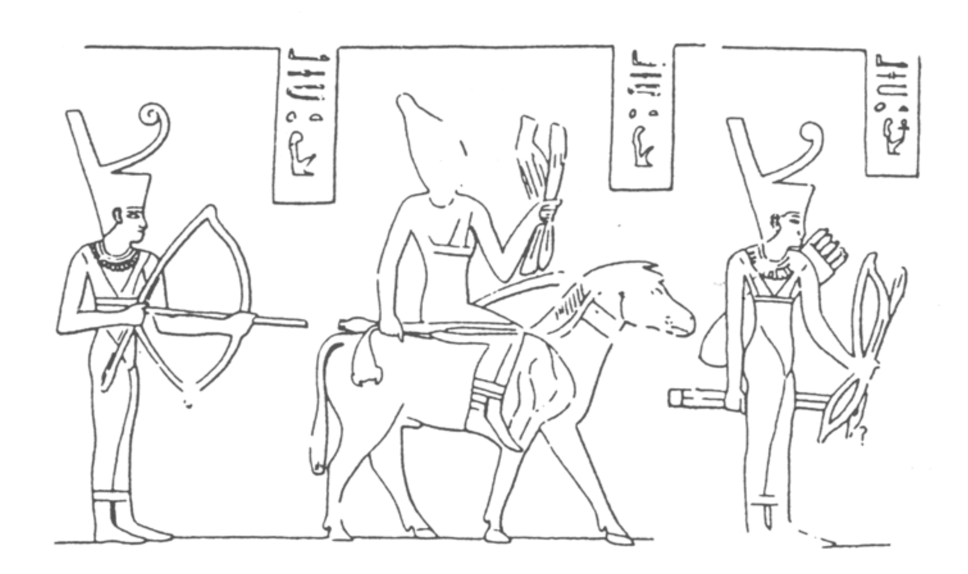
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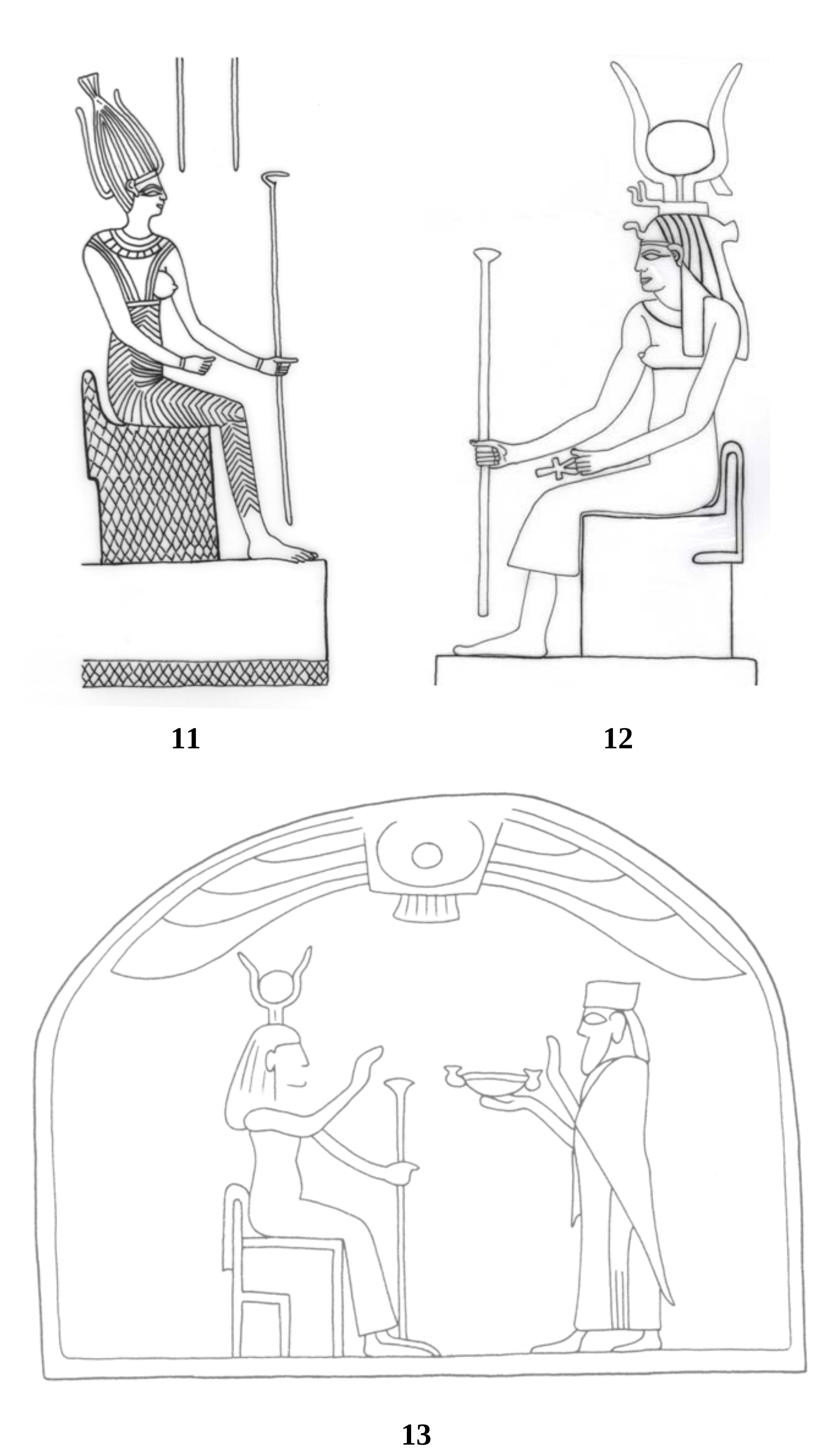
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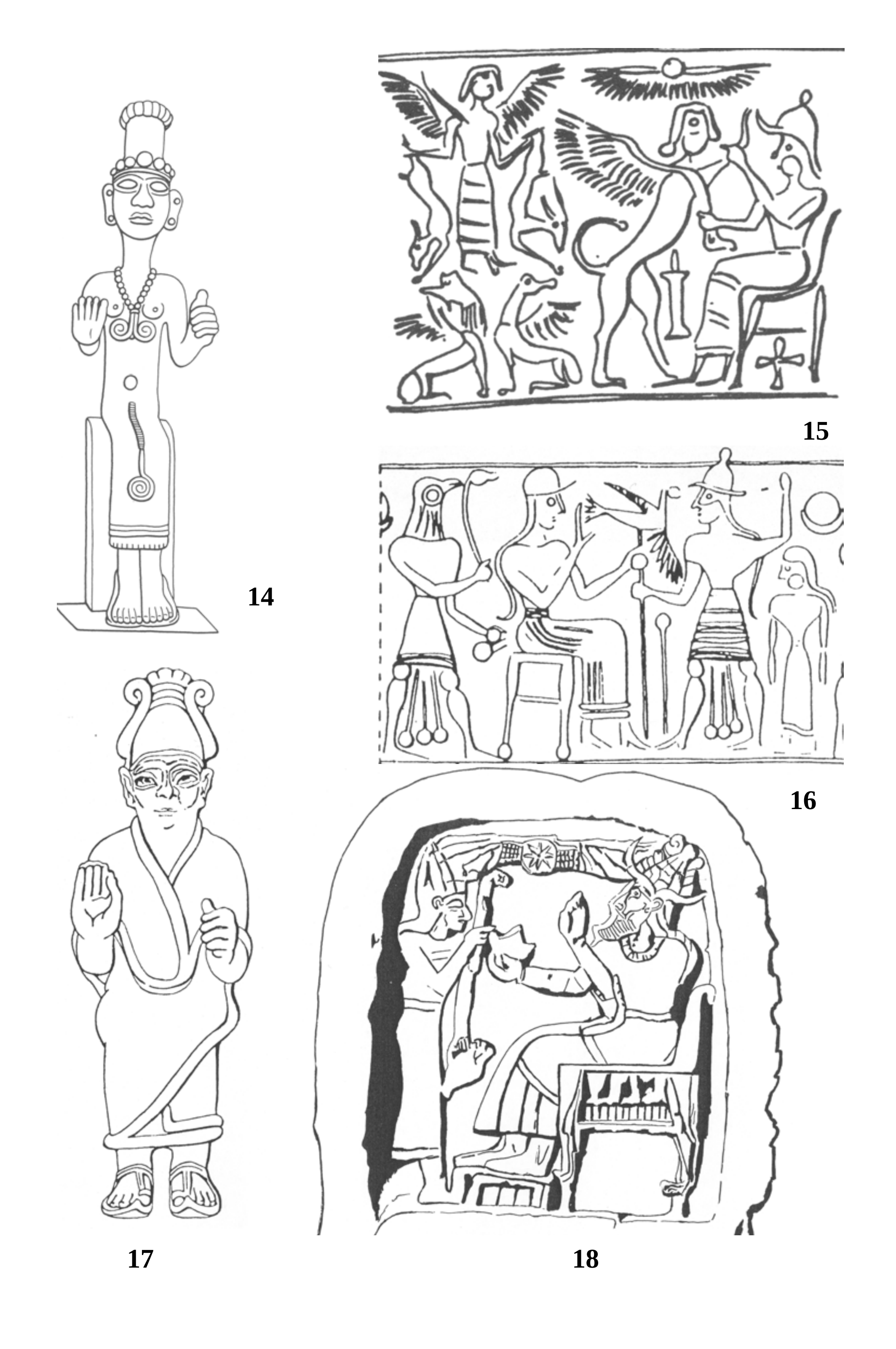


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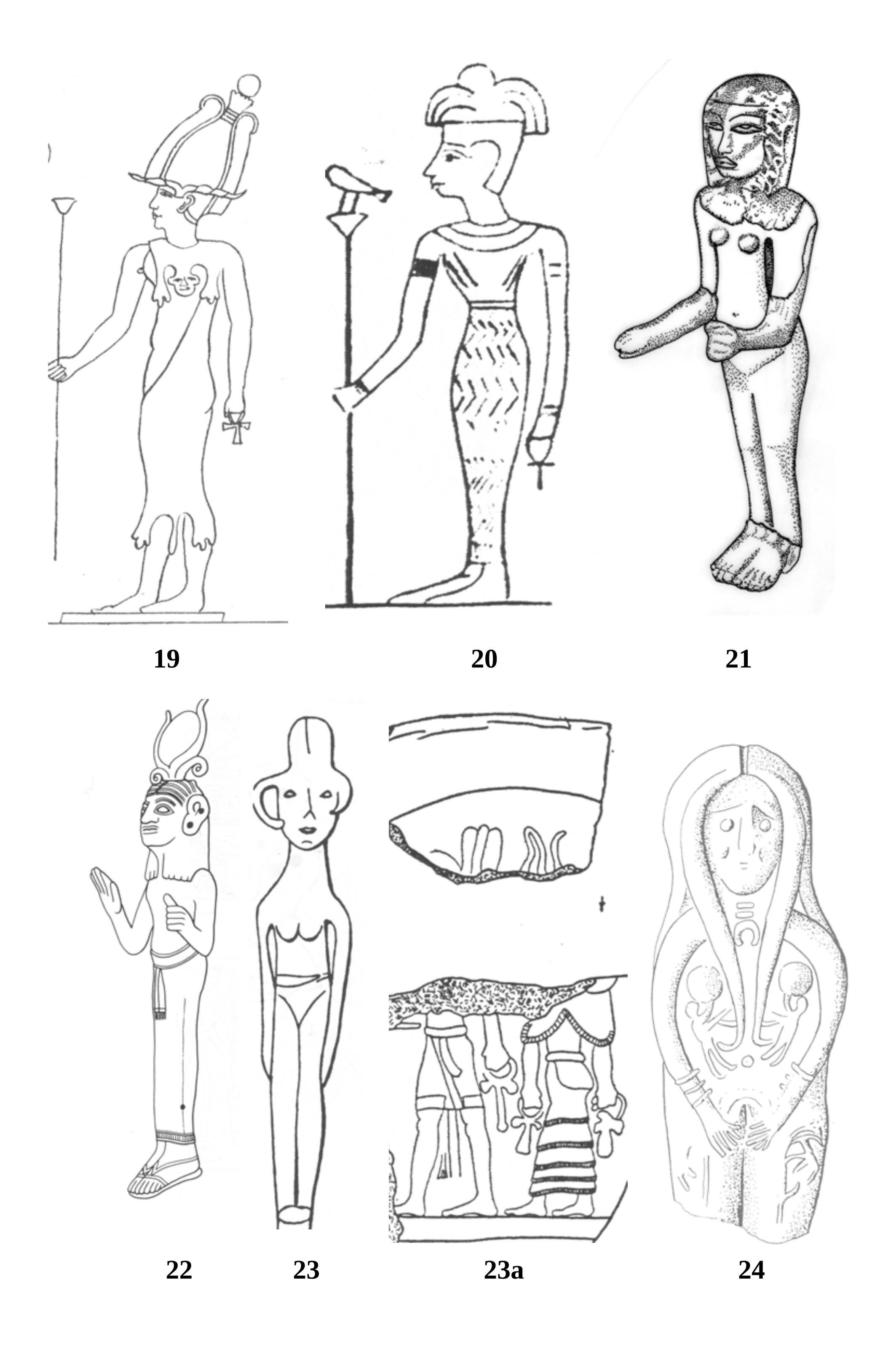


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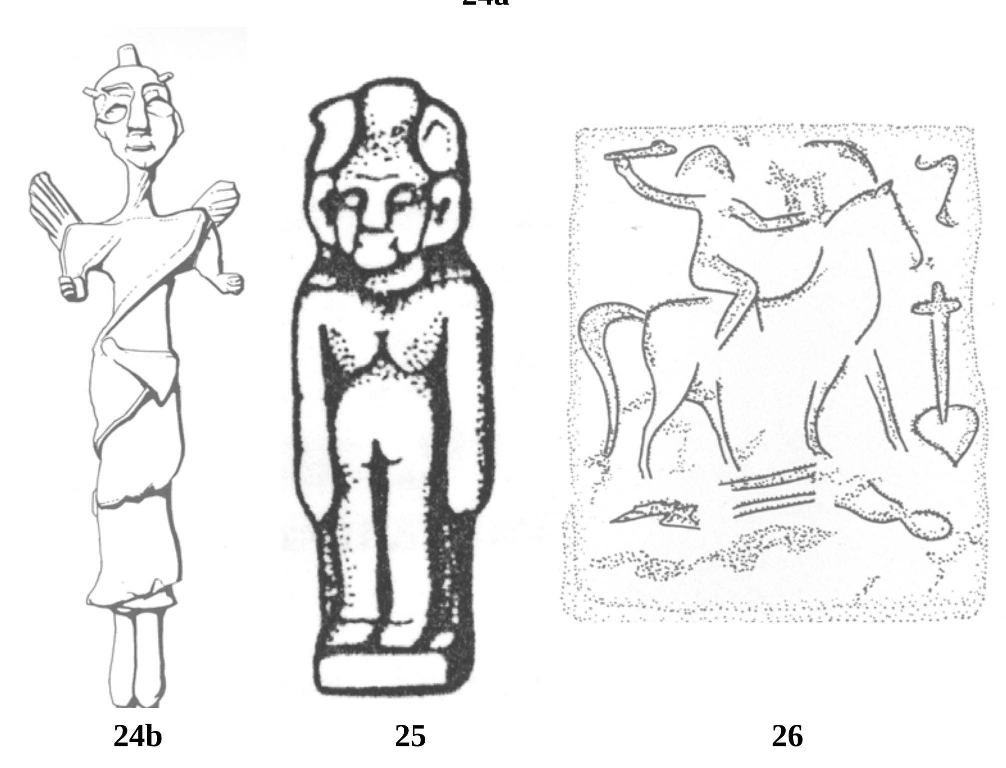


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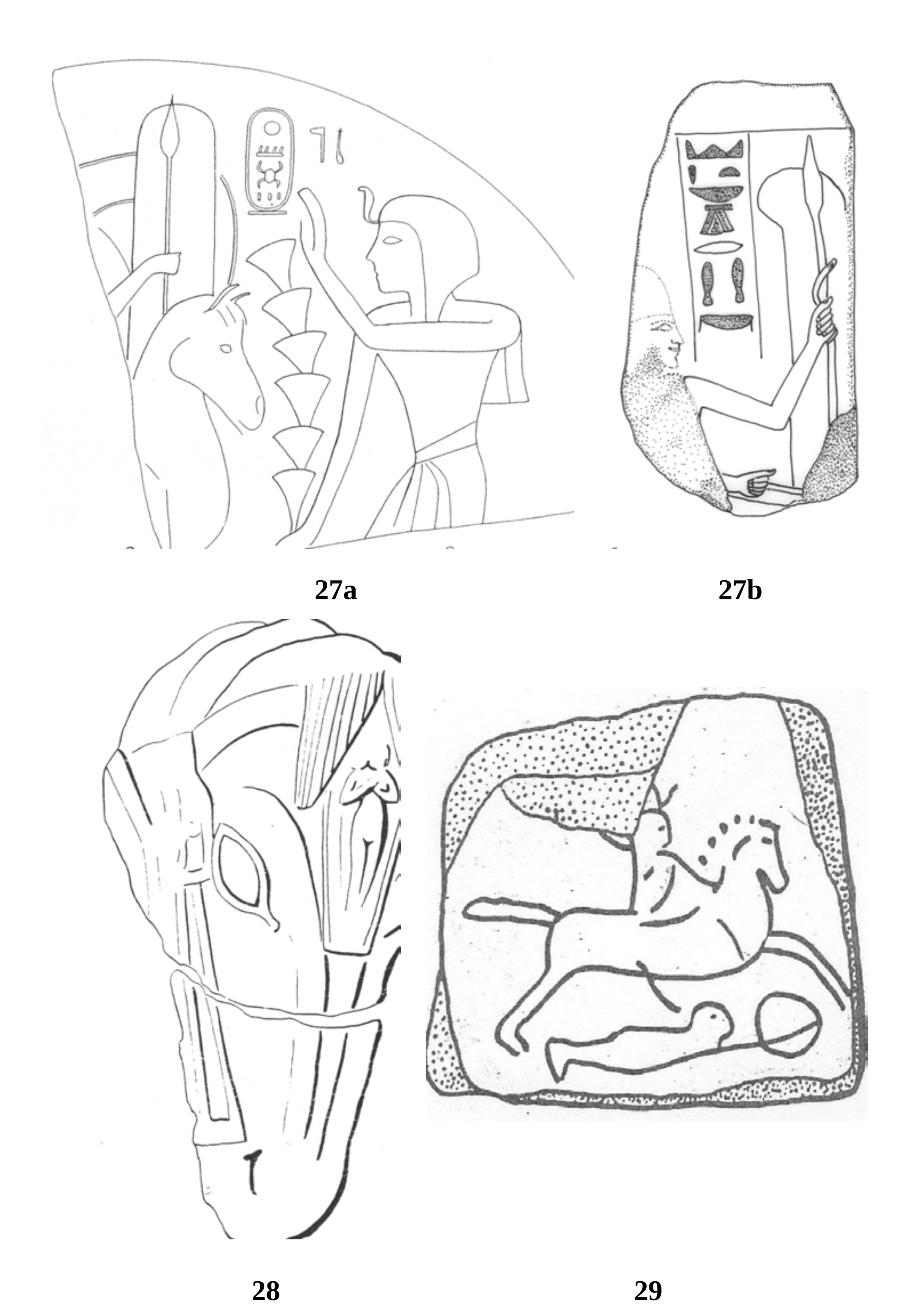

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23a
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24a

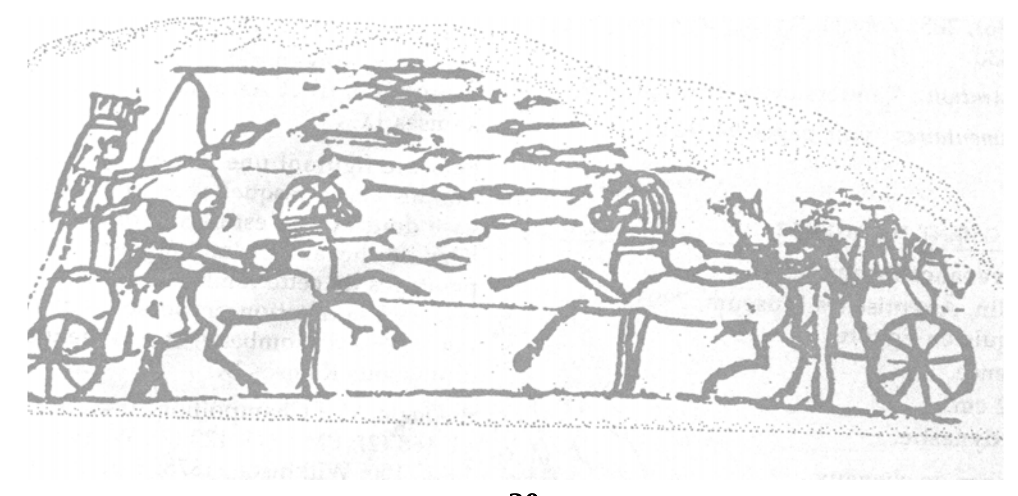


24b **25** **26**

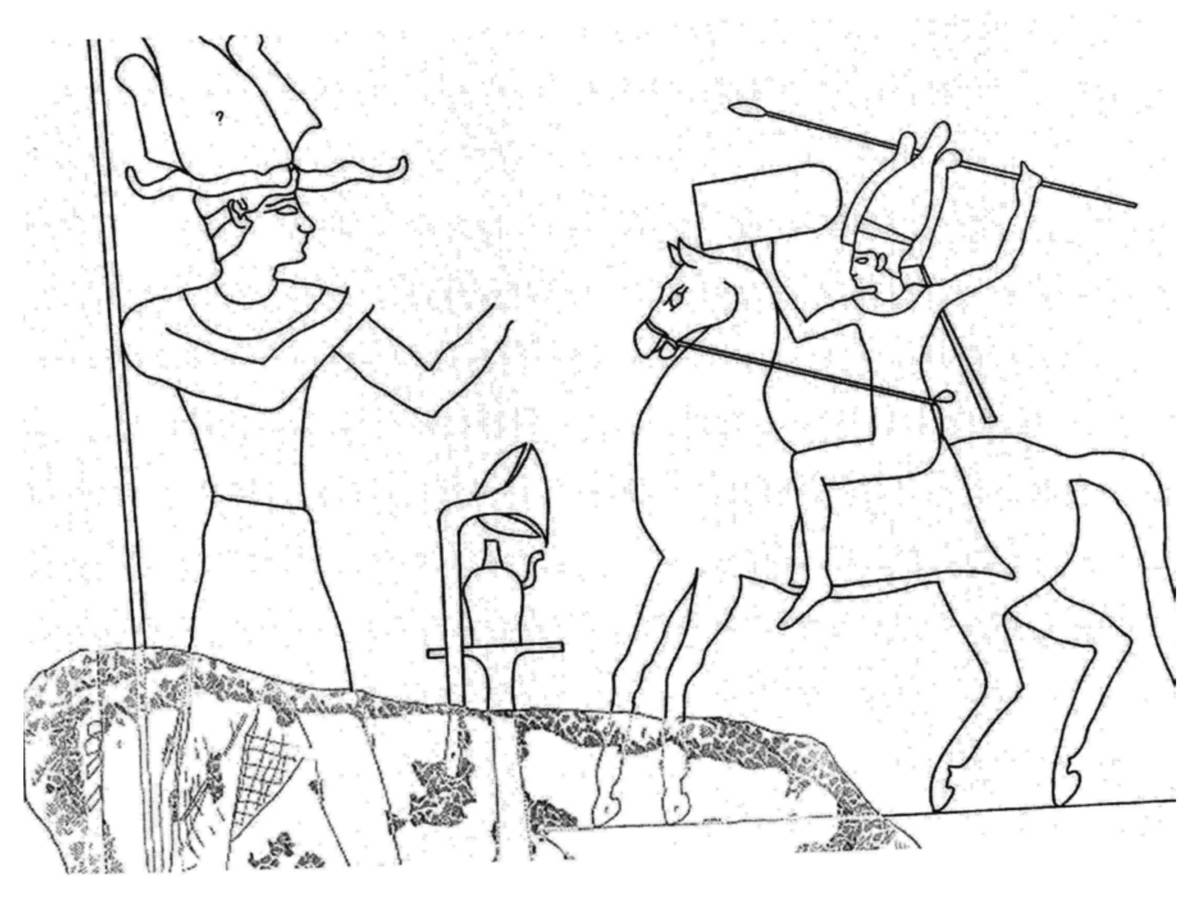


27a 27b

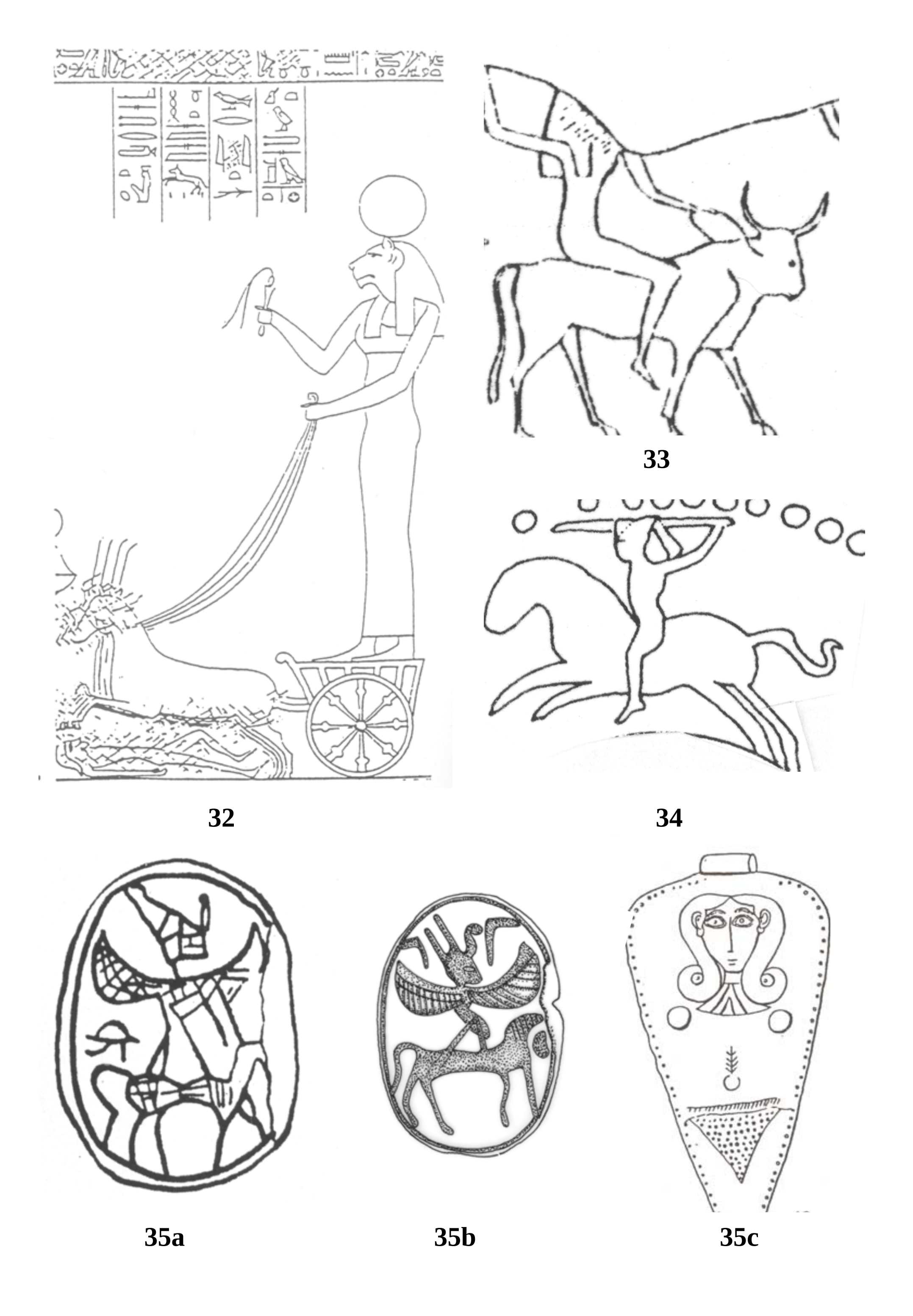
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35a
35b
35c



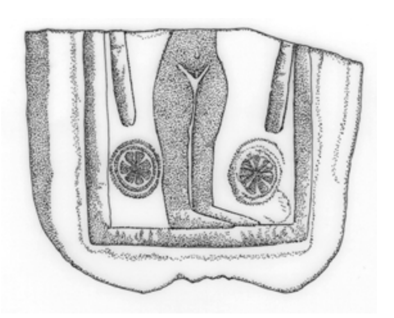
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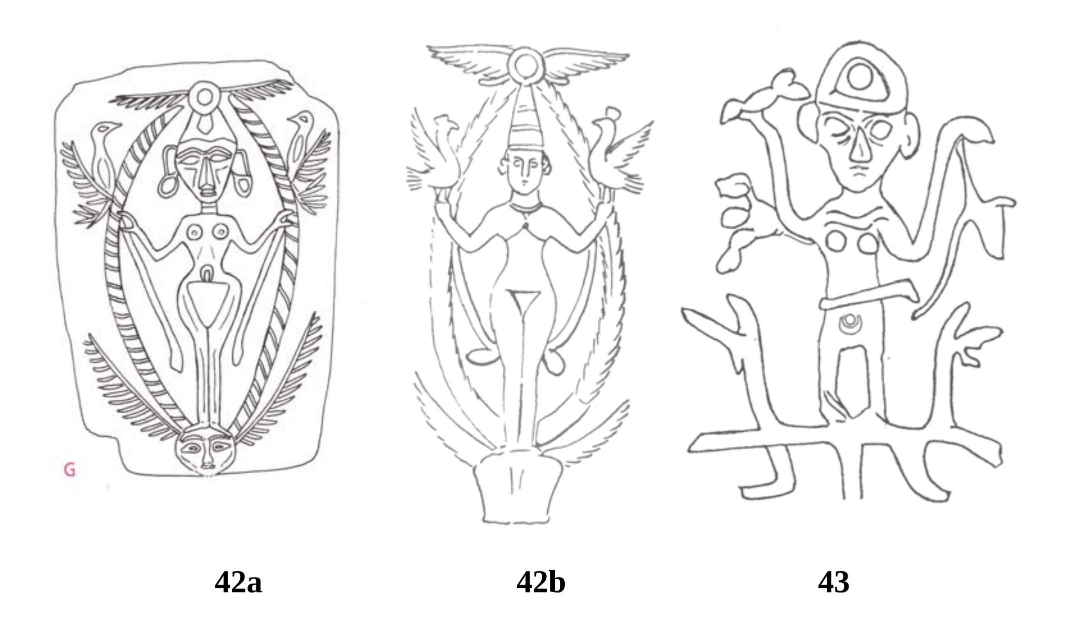


38 **39**

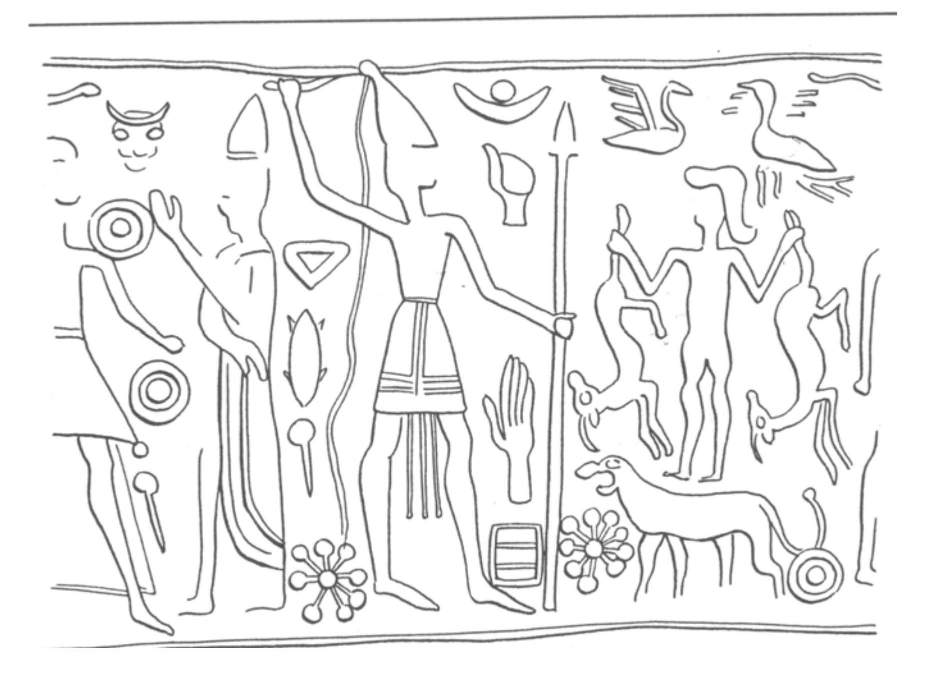




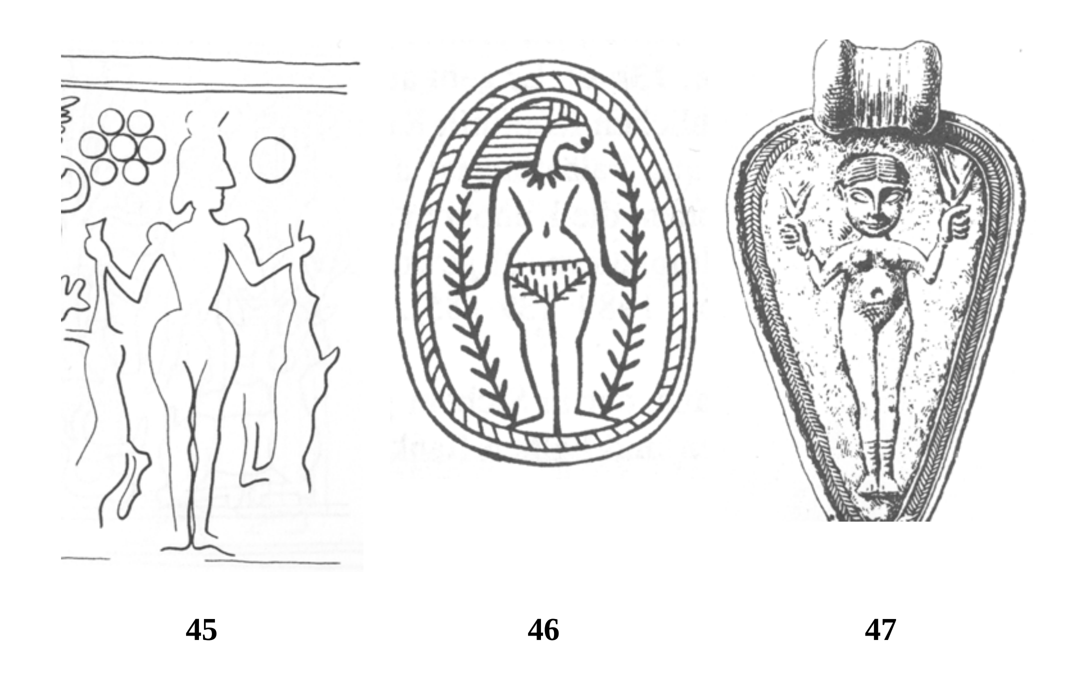
40 **41**



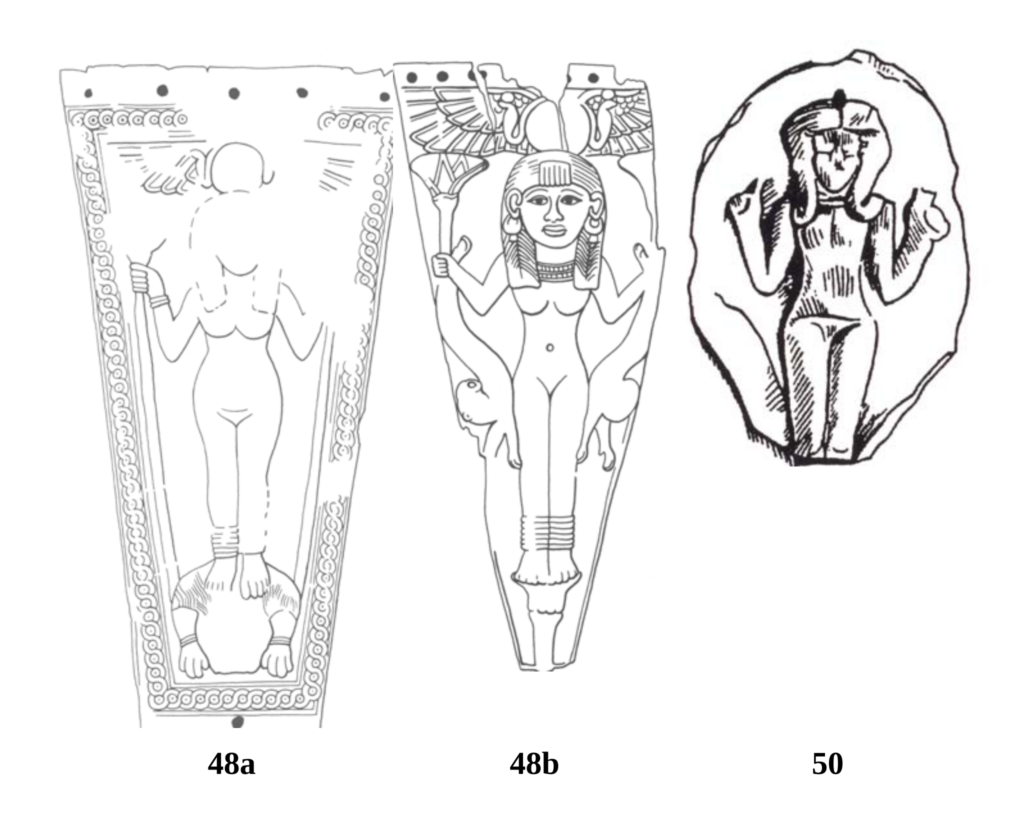
42a **42b** **43**



44



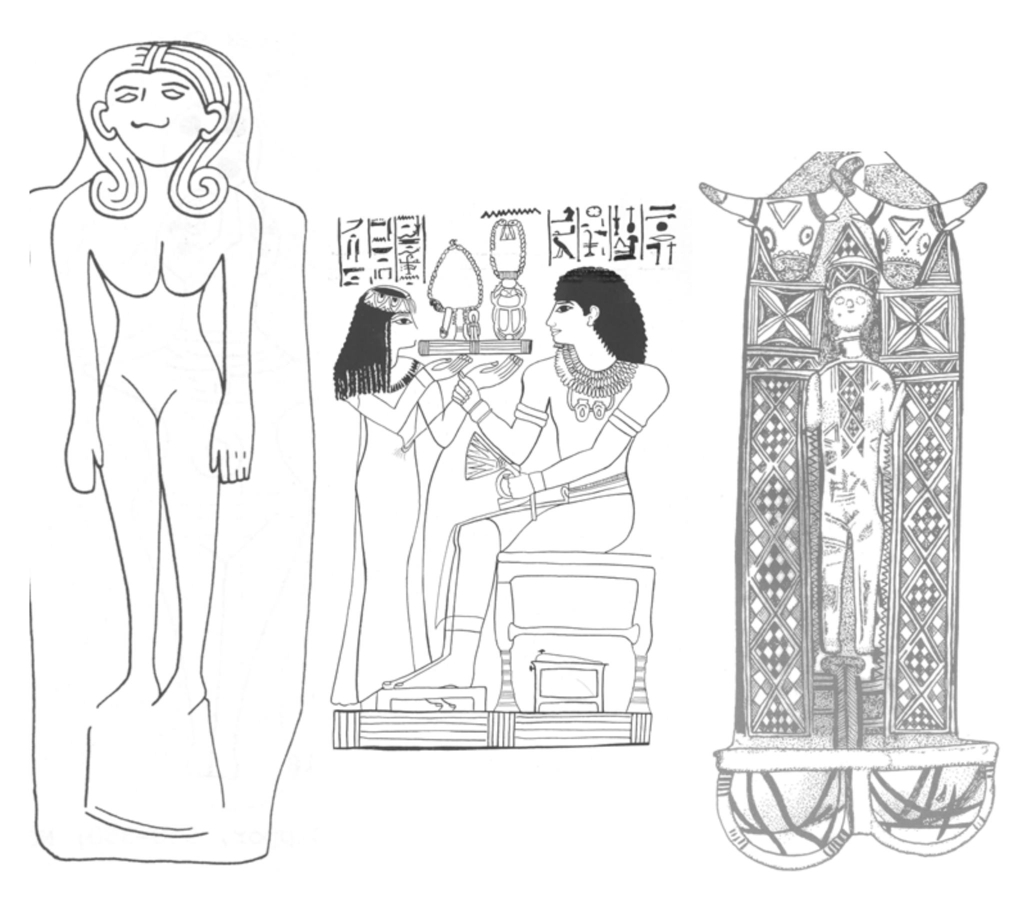
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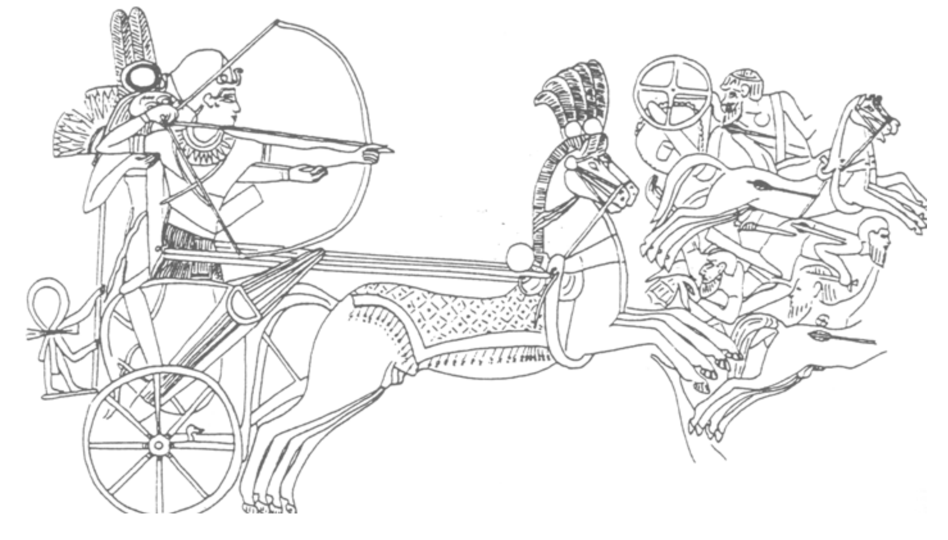
48a 48b 50



49a-b



50a **51** **52**



53



54



FIG. 55

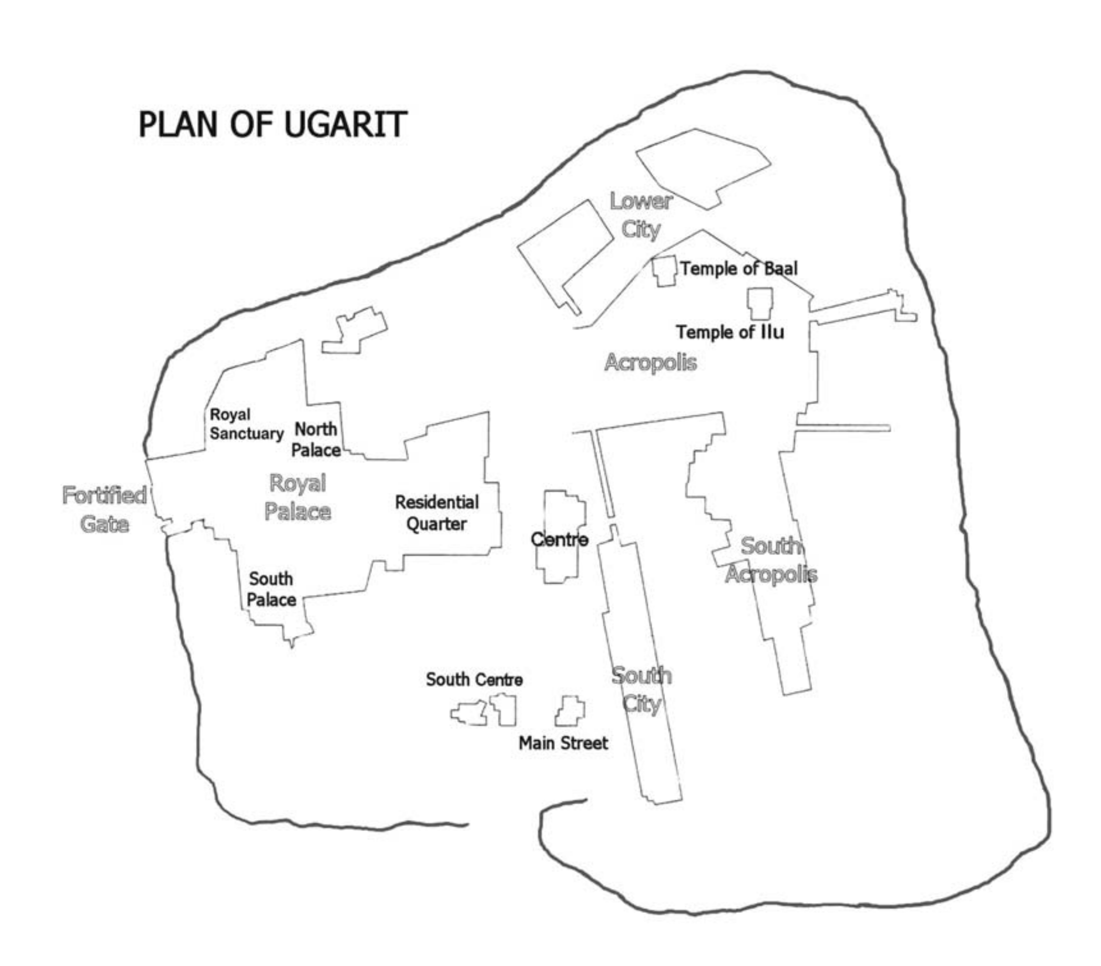
MAPS



Map 1a: Ancient Near Eastern Sites


Map 1b:
Palestinian Sites
Akko
Megiddo
Beisan
Tel Qarnayim
Aphek
Beitin
Gezer
Jericho
Masmiyeh
Tel Batash
Tel Harasim
Beth Shemesh
Tel Zafit
Azekah
Lachish
Tell el-Hesy
Tell Beit Mirsim

MAPS


PLAN OF UGARIT
Lower City
Temple of Baal
Temple of Ilu
Acropolis
Royal Sanctuary
North Palace
Fortified Gate
Royal Palace
Residential Quarter
Centre
South Acropolis
South Palace
South Centre
South City
Main Street

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Abstract

The goddesses of ancient Syro-Palestine have recently received detailed attention. This study attempts to make a contribution to the iconography of Anat, Astarte, Asherah and Qedeshet in the period 1500-1000 BCE. Because Anat and Astarte were closely related, and it is sometimes argued that Qedeshet was a mere epithet of the goddess Asherah, these goddesses need to be studied together. It is argued that it is possible to differentiate between these goddesses and that Qedeshet was an independent goddess with her own iconography.

The main iconographic types (armed, seated, standing, equestrian, naked woman with objects) are discussed, attributes compared, items identified with a specific goddess, and an iconographic typology established. Like Astarte, Anat was depicted armed and Astarte is also shown on horseback. The woman holding objects is identified as Qedeshet.

This book presents a detailed catalogue of items related to these goddesses, with photographs and comparative drawings. The catalogue has been updated for this second, slightly revised edition.